

ORIGINAL ESSAYS

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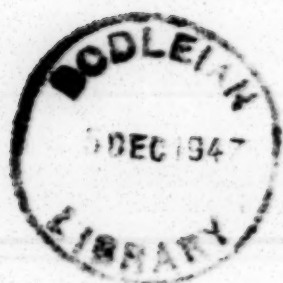
TRANSLATIONS.

By DIFFERENT HANDS.

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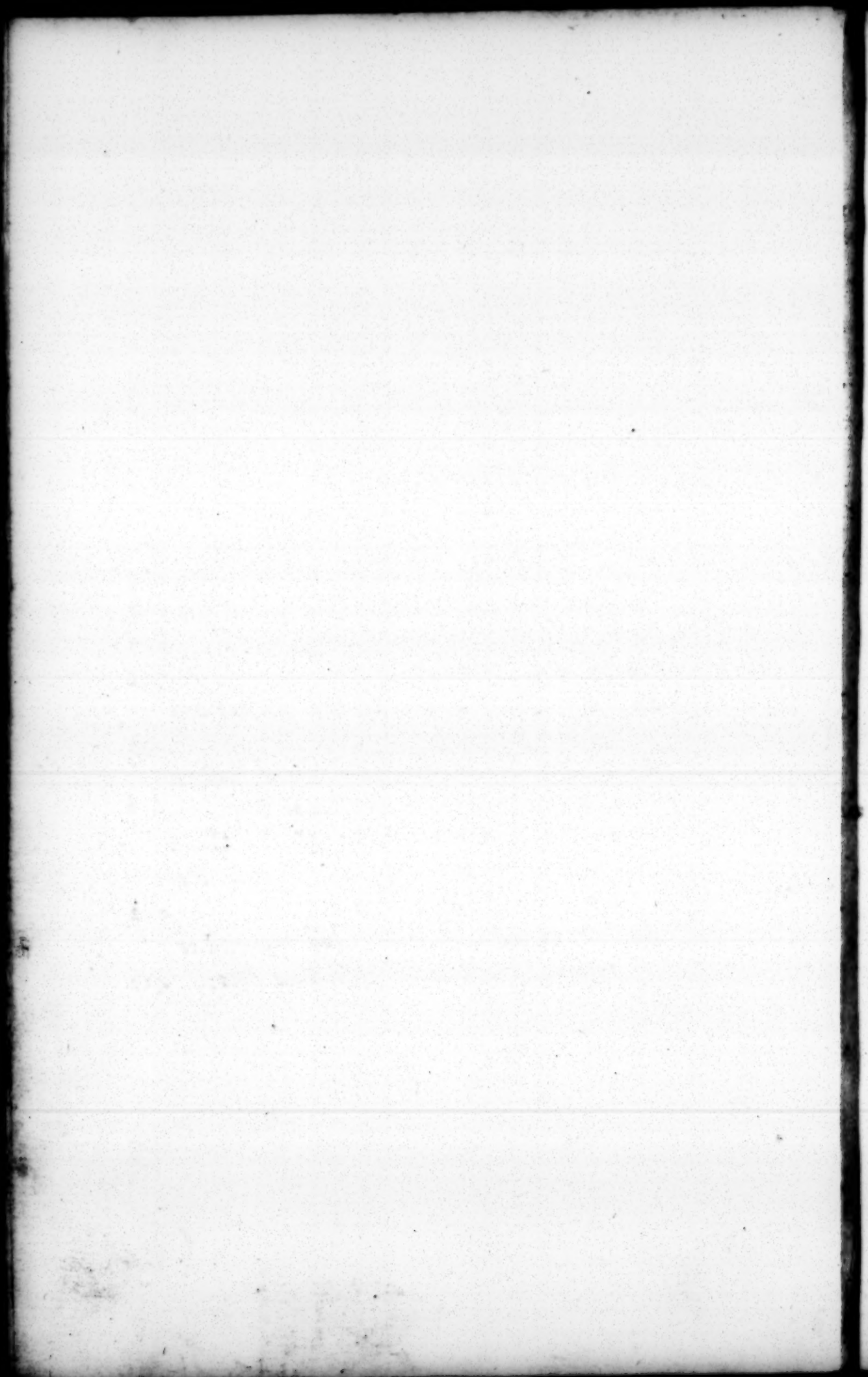
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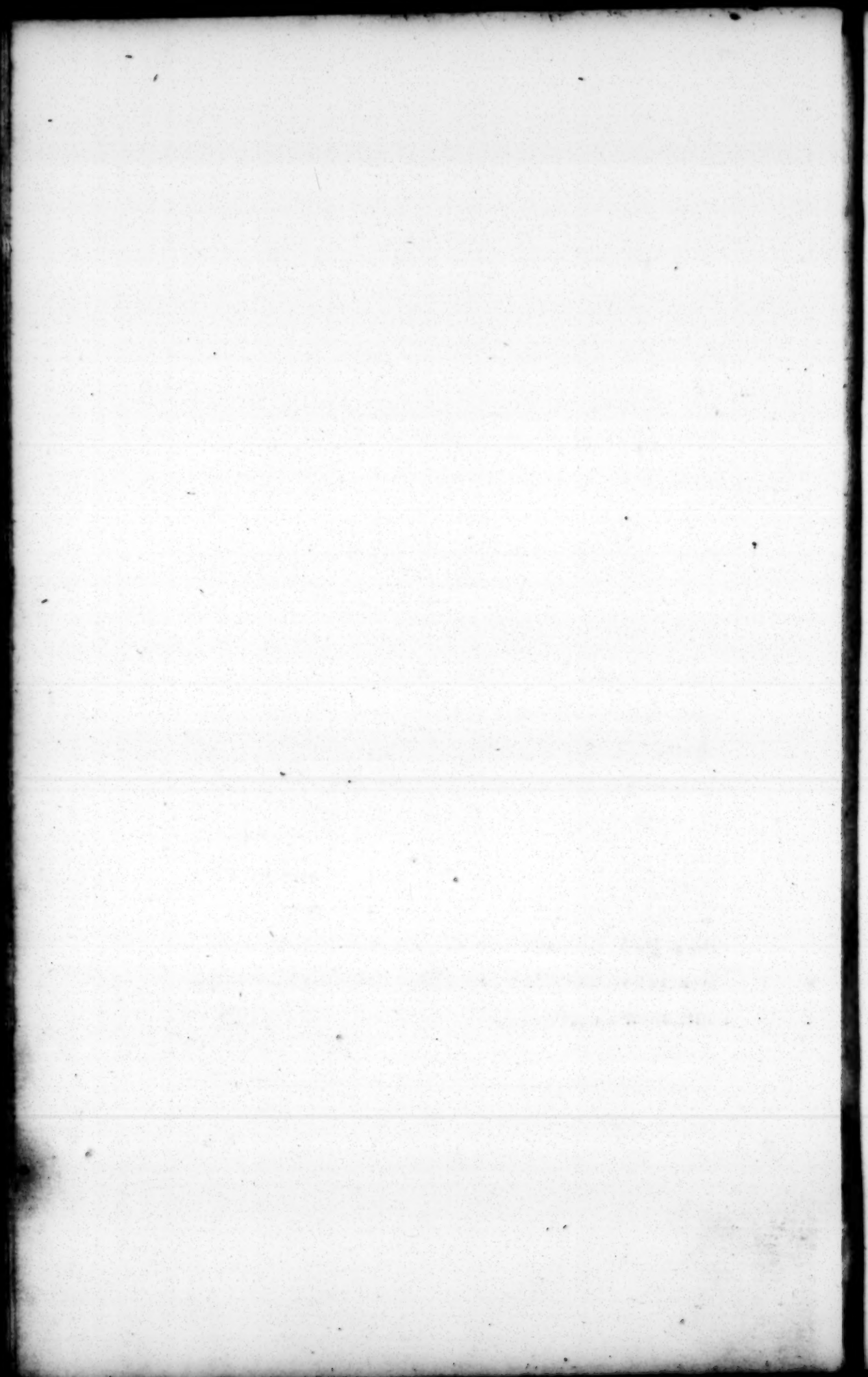
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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE entertaining story which is now presented to English readers, though said to be an original product of that nation, will evidently appear, in the view of every discerning critic, to be a French composition. It was taken from one of the periodical journals published in France, by a gentleman who has long taught modern languages with reputation and success in Edinburgh, and published in a collection of passages selected from the best French authors, for the use of his pupils. There the translator found it ; and, as he felt a high degree of pleasure in reading it, he could not doubt but that every sensible heart would feel the same, if the story could be successfully rendered in English. This, and this alone, was the motive of his present attempt. How far it has been successful, the public taste must now determine.



[Translated from the FRENCH.]

death

death had ravished from my fondness ; and, during that interval, he wished to divert my attention, by employing it in superintending that estate of which I was to become proprietor at the time of my marriage. He sent me to the north of Scotland, where he possessed an estate, in the neighbourhood of A———. I began my journey about the end of the spring, and in the most beautiful season of the year. The sun was almost set, when I found myself at the distance of eight miles from F———, which was the name of that estate. I knew that the mansion was a bad building, and as indifferently furnished ; so that there I could not hope for the most agreeable accommodation, either with respect to lodging or entertainment. My strength was exhausted with hunger, and my frame fatigued with travelling. I determined to pass the night at a farm, which, by its situation, and by a certain air of rural conveniency, neatness, and plenty, had attracted my attention. This farm was placed on the declivity of a hill, which protected it from the west wind, that blows with so much violence in that country. It was a hundred yards distant from a small river, which runs through a beautiful vale. Meadows, cultivated with art, orchards full of apple-trees for cyder, and fields covered with such herbs as are used for domestic purposes, surrounded the house. At

a little distance from this rural abode was a small wood of beech; horses, sheep, and cattle, fed upon the eminence and in the valley; four little children, of the most pleasing forms, amused themselves in an area replenished with all kinds of poultry. At the gate of this area, I saw a woman, whose age might be from twenty-five to thirty. Her hair was fair, her complexion fresh and blooming, though a little sun-burnt. She had large black eyes, and a bosom white as snow, which she displayed entire to the sight as she suckled an infant of five or six months old. It appeared to me, that the features of this enchanting rural beauty were not unknown. I asked her to whom this farm belonged, and whether my people and I could pass the night there? I assured her, that our entertainers should be amply rewarded. She answered me, that the farm was possessed by her husband, and that they received no money for hospitalities from any person; but that they gave the best reception in their power to strangers of all ranks. She, therefore, immediately invited me to light, and conducted me, without ceremony, to the room which she intended for me. This apartment was very agreeable; its furniture was neat and simple. From the window, the prospect was extended along the vale, and, for a considerable way, traced the mazes of the river.

*Sarah
Philips,*

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Philips, for such was the name of my charming rural hostess, told me, she was going to prepare supper for me ; that, till it was ready, I might choose whether to repose myself in my chamber, or in the garden, on a bank of velvet turf beneath some trees, near a small fountain. The evening was delightful ; the air had been sultry through the day ; I chose to go into the garden. You are in the right, said my entertainer, and you will enjoy two of our most intense pleasures, the coolness of the evening breezes after the scorching heat of day, and profound repose after severe fatigue. If, however, you should incline to read till the time of supper, here are a few books. At these words, she shewed me a closet, into which I entered. I was curious to see a farmer's library. I expected to find some old romances, and books of devotion. I immediately cast my eyes upon Tull's husbandry, and almost every thing else which has been sensibly written on agriculture. There I was surprised to find the Memoirs of the Academy of Rennes, an excellent book, but written in a language which could scarcely be expected to be understood by people in the sphere of those whose hospitalities I partook. Presently, however, I was no longer in doubt that they understood French, when I saw upon a shelf the *Essays of Montaigne*, the *discourse on the Inequality of Ranks*, and the

Emilius

Emilius of the celebrated Rouffeau. I saw likewise a French translation of the *Praedium rusticum*, a poem by the Jesuite Vanieres. What remained of the library was in our own language. Here were *the Characteristics of Shaftesbury*, *Hutchison's Moral Philosophy*, &c. How, said I, books of philosophy among farmers! the noblest products of French and English wisdom at a farm near F——. The authors must surely have been surpris'd to see their works there! What use can these people make of such books! They certainly belong to some gentleman in the neighbourhood, who, charmed with this retreat, or rather with its landlady, comes here to pass the vernal season. I finish'd then the review of the library: I saw nothing else but some books on mechanism, and the Practice of Physic; the novels of Richardson, and the Idylia of Theocritus translated; the Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil; the Elegies of Tibullus, of Gesner, and of Haller. I saw none of the works of our native poets, but the Pastorals of Philips, the delights of a country life by Cowley, some detached passages of Spencer, the story of Baucis and Philemon by Dryden, and Thomson's poem on the seasons. I took Haller's poem on the Alps, and I was going to read it, reclining on the flowery turf. Scarce had I seated myself there, when I heard loud cries around the house. The
children

8 THE HISTORY

children who had followed me into the garden, and contemplated me with much curiosity, ran to the door. I saw likewise the hostess running. They flew towards an empty carriage, which was entering into the court. This waggon was conducted by the farmer, who returned from A——, where he had gone to dispose of some grain. I easily knew the master of the house by the manner in which he was received. His wife embraced him with tenderness, He held, at the same time, by the hand, two of his other children, who waited in eager expectation to be kissed in their turn. The farmer was a man of thirty, extremely genteel in his person. His face was beautiful enough to attract attention ; and his look was at once majestic and agreeable. He thanked me for the preference which I had given to his house, as a lodging, for that night. They afterwards left me ; and I saw him enter into an apartment which looked into the garden, and of which the window was open. They then walked towards a cradle, where their fifth child was asleep. Both of them reclined over the cradle, and alternately looked upon the infant with cordial tenderness, then turned their eyes upon each other, whilst their hands were joined, and their countenances irradiated with smiles, expressive of inutterable fondness,

fondness. I was transported with this moving spectacle of conjugal and paternal affection.

Supper being ready, we went to place ourselves at table. The superiors of the family asked my permission to admit their domestics, and even my own, to sit with us. I agreed. The table was served with propriety. It was replenished with puddings, vegetables, and a piece of roast beef. All the victuals had the neatest appearance in the world. The seats were convenient ; but there was only one easy chair, destined for an old man, whom they introduced to me. He was the farmer's father. He gave me a very civil reception ; and we seated ourselves.

I was opposite to my hostess. I remarked, that she sent one of her maids, a young girl, to take a seat near a shepherd, who was likewise in the bloom of youth. I inquired whether these had been newly married. They are not as yet married, said she ; but they entertain a reciprocal fondness. They have not seen each other through the whole day ; and it will give them pleasure to be seated one by the other. I observed, that she sent one of her servants a plate of victuals which he very much loved, and which had been prepared for him alone. She regaled those with cyder whose toils had been most severe : For every particular kind of meat which was served she discovered some proper and

rational motive. She told us why certain vegetables were not upon the table at that time; why others had been preferred; why she had seasoned them in a particular manner.

All these punctilios she had observed, to give her little entertainment all the charms of variety, and heighten the pleasure of the repast. This woman, through her whole manner to me, appeared singular. The farmer shewed the same attention, and the same care, to render the meal as agreeable as possible. It was simple; it was excellent. The guests enjoyed it with the highest sensibility, whilst they used it with the most scrupulous moderation. In this house, all formal and unnecessary distinctions were neglected. The servants were familiar with their masters. They did not flatter them with appearances of respect which was not felt; but the strength of their attachment, the sincerity and warmth of their zeal, were conspicuous. When the importunities of hunger were repressed, they indulged in conversation. The farmer put questions to me concerning the prospect of the country through which I had passed. He extolled those landscapes which were in the neighbourhood of his farm, and solicited me to stay with him the day following, that I might survey them. His wife and himself were engaged in entertaining me, without being forgetful of their servants. Some of those
were

were praised for the chearfulness with which they exercised their labour, others were thanked for some extraordinary service which they had done. They talked to them concerning the serenity of the weather ; concerning the music of the groves, the beauty and fragrance of the flowers, the agreeable anticipation of a plentiful harvest, their softer passions, and the objects by which they were inspired. The servants conversed among themselves upon these delightful sensations, and every one seemed to feel them. But, above all, the old father engaged our observation. I never saw an old man more chearful, nor more affable. This I told my hostess. Sir, replied she, it is only such old men as are neglected who become peevish and capricious. Whenever they observe themselves to be thought of importance, they are gentle, and grateful for the deference with which they are treated. I observed, that they invited the good man to drink. This a little surpris'd me. Sir, said the mistress of the family to me, 'tis my opinion, that, through the whole course of life, we should endeavour to retard the approaches of age ; but, when it comes, our next care is to suspend or soften the sensations and presages of declining life. These returns surpris'd me. I did not doubt but that the library was for the use of my entertainers, and I spoke to them of their books. Their answers

swers were intelligent and spirited. I could not but expostulate with my own prejudices, when I observed the clearness, vivacity, and extent of their understandings, particularly that of Sarah. How, cried I, a young woman! in the country! Oh! replied the old man, who begun to kindle a little, you are not as yet acquainted with Sarah. The exquisite sensibility, the godlike disposition of her heart, are still unknown to you. Did you but comprehend the sacrifice which she has made to us! When I recollect these circumstances, I could almost kiss the ground impressed with her steps. Sarah appeared to me afraid of her father-in-law's vivacity; she was disconcerted; she blushed. Philips (for so was her husband called) immediately solicited the old man not to reveal a secret which he had promised to keep. I will not say a word, replied the good man, not a word. A girl so charming! who had a fortune so immense! such a treasure of knowledge! she, even she will stoop to erect a falling sheaf. At present, when she often conducts a cart, does she then think, with regret, upon the times when she commanded a coach and a magnificent equipage?—Our hostess rose, caused the dishes to be removed, and fruits to be brought. They were strawberries highly flavoured, gooseberries, cherries, and the most excellent cream. In the mean while, some of the maids, who were young and

and neat, strowed flowers around the table, and garnished the dishes with the same.

This sight delighted the good old man ; and, whether it wholly engaged his attention, or whether he was afraid of disobliging his daughter-in-law, he suppressed the effusion of his heart in silence. I did not cause flowers to be brought with the first course, said Sarah to me, because, when appetite is keen, the smell of victuals is very agreeable ; but, when our inclination for eating becomes more languid, the sensation becomes proportionably less agreeable ; and it is then that we are pleased with the fragrance of flowers. I was charmed with Sarah's taste, and with her art of rendering sensations, agreeable in themselves, still more agreeable by their variety and arrangement, and with the number of pleasures which she could find, without departing from the strict simplicity of nature.

Philips and Sarah appeared to me so tenderly interested one for the other, so fondly attentive, so sincerely happy, that I never had beheld an union so delightful ; because it rarely happens that souls are wedded by the same number and intimacy of relations which subsisted between *them*. They had the same degrees of sensibility, the same tastes, the same opinions.

A little while after supper, my entertainers conducted me to my chamber. Philips made
me

me observe the beauty of the night, the golden splendour of the stars, the profound silence of those moments when nature enjoys repose. Sarah did not fail to visit her children. Philips prescribed the servants their tasks, saw the horses properly served; and the happy couple retired to a neat and comfortable apartment.

It was not without some difficulty that I could persuade myself to sleep; all that I had just seen appeared a pleasing dream, a dream which I could have wished continued through my whole life.

I awaked early in the morning; but felt no strong temptation to depart. I was in rapture with my entertainers. Their dwelling, their manner of living, the agreement of the servants, the cheerfulness and serenity which reigned through the whole house, every thing enchanted my soul. If any one has a sensible heart, and a sound understanding, he finds himself so happy in the presence of virtue, when conscious of her own felicity, the view of those pleasures which she enjoys is so charming, that it is impossible to behold them without participation. I arose, however; but filled with regret at the thoughts of quitting a villa so delightful. As soon as I was dressed, I descended into the court, where I found Philips and Sarah. The sun was just arisen, and the sky still preserved a gentle tincture of
of

of that shining yellow which succeeds to the whiteness of its appearance in the early dawn, and is prior to that dark azure which it assumes through the day. The atmosphere was impregnated with perfumes from herbs and flowers; we were fanned with the freshness of the breeze which follows the rising sun; the country smiled, and the whole of animated nature resumed its activity. The flocks forsook their folds, the doves issued from the pigeon-cot, and the poultry were spread over the court; the servants prepared themselves for labour. I confess, that, for the first time in my life, I felt the pleasure of seeing day begin; and I am persuaded, that Philips and Sarah, notwithstanding the cares which then engrossed them, were by no means insensible to these pleasures.

I remarked, that, in the distribution of their tasks, they always shewed an inclination to place several labourers together, and even desired the shepherds to conduct the flocks to particular places, contiguous to those where the other servants were at work. This attention appeared to me singular. I told Sarah my opinion; and this was her answer: I have always been persuaded, that what renders rural toils so agreeable, is, that they are not solitary. Men easily soothe the fatigues of such tasks as are social; the cheerfulness of individuals communicates itself to the whole. If one shepherd plays upon his pipe, another

other fings. Several labourers who conduct the plough in a neighbouring field, partakers of the same toil, render it more tolerable one to the other. They talk to one another of their hopes ; they are more united by the sympathies which result from the equality of their station. Sure you must have observed these rural labours which are common to a considerable number of men assembled, as in mowing, hay-making, or reaping. It is in these scenes, that, notwithstanding the ardour of the sun, the violence of thirst, the excess of sweat, and the severity of labour, you perceive the smile of pleasure in every countenance, and the impulse of joy in every voice. Your artificers in the city, perpetually confined to their shops or work-houses, and thus cut off from all social communication, almost continually pursue their tasks with reluctance and depression of heart. Sarah was silent : Philips resumed the conversation. I am likewise of opinion, Sir, said he, that there are various pleasures which cannot be felt in their most intense degree, without being enjoyed by several at the same time. I have heard Sarah say, that, in proportion as the theatres were filled with spectators, the emotions inspired by the spectacle were stronger, and more pleasing. This, replied Sarah, is true ; and this is the case with all the pleasures which we derive from admiration. Now, what is there that
one

one can more intensely or frequently admire than this earth, these heavens, these rivers, these woods, these meadows, all the inimitable beauties and exhaustless riches which Nature exhibits in the country? I believe, interrupted Phillips, that the blessings which Nature bestows on all in common, are exactly the same which rise in value when enjoyed at the same time by a great number. We love to participate the pleasure of a fine day, of an agreeable prospect, of an odoriferous garden; because these delights lose nothing by communication. Yes, replied Sarah; and, if participation does not diminish, it is sure to augment our pleasures. The poets have too highly exaggerated the enjoyments of solitude, whilst they describe the charms of rural life. Should we listen to them, we might imagine that these pleasures could neither be felt nor relished but in a situation remote from men; but it was of such men as frequent the city that they meant to speak; that is to say, of such men whose souls, evaporated by debauch, frivolous by education, or engrossed by political cares and occupations, are insensible to the charms of Nature. One certain evidence that the poets maintain the necessity of communicating pleasure to augment it, is their inclination to paint, in the liveliest colours, the beauties which they admire, and to transmit, even to the latest posterity,

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those

those pleasing impressions which they have received.

This conversation, which I enjoyed with such delight, was interrupted by the hay-makers, who now issued in crowds from the house to pursue their business. They were attended with the eldest of Sarah's children, who carried his rake; and never was a king more enamoured of his scepter than this child of his rural instrument. You see, said the mother, those pleasures which we share from the beginning of our conscious utility, and the noviciate of agriculture. All that I behold, heavenly creature, replied I, and all that I hear, inspires me with the most sensible admiration and profound respect for your husband and yourself. Your neighbourhood renders precious to me a piece of ground upon which I formerly bestowed very little regard. I shall often revisit it, to enjoy your conversation, and to feast my soul with those views of real virtue and genuine pleasure which seem to have selected your house as their favourite asylum. How ardently should I wish to pass the rest of my life in pleasing intercourse with you, and to merit the friendship of a couple who seemed formed by heaven to bless and to be blessed. Perhaps you, Sarah, might, in progress of time, indulge me with further discoveries of your perfections. You might perhaps disclose to me that important
secret

secret which your father-in-law felt so much inclination to reveal. I saw, by the tender emotions of that venerable old man, and by the uncommon respect which he wished to shew you, that, were I better acquainted with what you are, and with the circumstances which have placed you in your present situation, these would only furnish me with new reasons for increasing and justifying the esteem I entertain of your person and character. I believe it, replied Sarah; the manner in which you judge of us, and of the way in which we live, persuades me that you are above many prejudices which prevail among the great vulgar, and that, by this liberality of sentiment, you deserve my confidence. I thanked her, with so much emotion, that she was a little disconcerted. She turned towards her husband, and said to him, my dearest friend, I propose to amuse this gentleman with the history of the passion which we entertain one for the other. The husband tenderly embraced her, and departed from us, to follow the hay-makers. He earnestly desired Sarah to detain me till his return, and appeared to leave us with regret, though his absence was only to be of short duration. Sarah told me, that it was now necessary for her to bestow some attention upon her children and her domestic oeconomy; she begged me to wait for her in the garden, which I did

did for a considerable time. At last she came, seated herself with me upon the verdant turf, and thus began her story.

I was born in the most southern part of England, of an opulent and illustrious family, which derived no less importance from its public utility, than from its titles. I shall suppress the names of my natal scene and of my ancestors. It is believed that I am dead; nor am I sorry that people should be ignorant of my existence: This is necessary to render my life happy. At six years of age I lost my mother. My father, who was passionately fond of letters and philosophy, and who idolized me, would not enter into a second marriage, but took upon himself the care of my education. He found that I had natural talents, and was enamoured of study. He wished me to participate his knowledge, and seemed to be pleased with my progress. My father, one of the most enlightened persons of his age, was, perhaps, both by nature and cultivation, equal to those philosophers whose characters have been most distinguished; such, at least, was the judgment I formed of him, by comparing the instructions which he gave with those which I imbibed from books. His courage in action and in literary pursuits was invincible; nor could it ever be terrified by any consequences from the system which he had adopted, or from the course
of

of action which he had chosen. From him I derived the same force of mind; nor has it been debilitated by the lessons which he gave me. His soul was equally sensible to the beauties of Nature and art. He had a vivacity of imagination, a dignity and tenderness of soul, which are seldom united; that philosophy which renders the mind vapid or frozen, was, therefore, by no means the object of his choice. He found it necessary to pursue a system more favourable to enthusiasm, and the pleasures of imagination. I had not yet arrived at my eighteenth year, when my father observed that I was adding new discoveries to the instructions which he had communicated. I likewise possessed the same taste for learning. He was amused with my conversation, and I became the chief source of his happiness. He was not hasty in forming any matrimonial plan for me; and, satisfied with my condition, I felt no temptation to change it.

Whilst Sarah spoke in this manner to me, I was strongly agitated. I thought I knew her. Still, however, I was in some uncertainty; and I waited with impatience till my doubts should be cleared. We passed, continued she, a small portion of the winter in London. We arrived there, when a young Scotsman presented himself as a servant to my father. He had the most agreeable form. He had impressed on his countenance
such

such indications of sensibility and honour, that it was difficult to behold him without being moved. The peasants, as you know, are more intelligent in Scotland than in the other parts of Europe ; and this young man had received the best education which was given to people in that sphere in his country. He did not distinguish himself, at first, from the other servants, but by an extreme attachment to his duty. We presently saw that he gained the love of all his companions, and that he inspired them with his own zeal for our interest. My father found himself better attended, and his people appeared more chearful and happy. The Scotsman had always some book in his hand in those moments of leisure which his duty allowed him. My father perceived that this young man had a good understanding ; he wished to instruct him. My Lord Dorset, said he, took Mr Prior from a tavern, and cultivated his genius in such a manner, that he became one of the best poets in England. I shall perhaps form this young man to be an enlightened member of society, and do honour to his nation. We set out for the country, whither the young man followed us. My father had frequent conversations with him. In one of these conversations, he learned, that the desire of rendering his father easy and comfortable in his old age, by the little sums which he could earn as wages,

wages, had determined him to become a servant. A sentiment so virtuous moved my father to such a degree, that he could not mention it to me without tears. He immediately offered him a considerable sum, with a design that the young man should send it to his friends. But how great was my father's astonishment, when his servant refused the present which he intended to make him ! Sir, said that young man to him, I owe the product of my labour to my father, and the wages which I receive for it are sufficient for us both. If he were in absolute penury, I would accept your beneficence ; but, as he only wants a little assistance, it is my duty, and mine only, to afford it. The wages of my toil are his as much as mine ; let him enjoy them ; but neither he nor I can stoop to become abject dependents for bread. My father did not attempt to change this young man's manner of thinking ; yet he no longer kept him in livery, but gave him the care of his library. He likewise appointed him to superintend, in some measure, his tenants. In these two offices Philips, without descending from the dignity of his sentiments, could receive that increase of wages which my father intended to pay.

The library was the apartment which I most frequented, and there I had often occasion to see Philips. I began to be sorry that I did not
always

always find him there. He never saw me enter without feeling emotions, too strong to be concealed from me. From this, my heart caught the tender infection; from this, it entertained these sentiments which at present constitute its greatest felicity, and from which I derive all that renders life delightful or estimable. I had too much understanding not to perceive the consequences of my passion; but presently all the use which I made of my intellectual powers was rather to nourish than extinguish my attachment. I respected, I venerated the opinions of men; but these opinions, said I, have not connected shame with internal prepossessions; let me, therefore, indulge my own. My father might, perhaps, have been more severe; but it was my care to keep him ignorant of my passion; even from him by whom it was inspired I was industrious to conceal it; nor did he discover what he felt for me, but left me, from its involuntary expressions, to guess it by conjecture.

I had a soul conscious of its dignity, elevated, and sensible. These dispositions, though unequal to the conflict, when engaged in opposition to a confirmed attachment, yet they can prevent its excursions, and resist its weakness. Philips, besides, was wholly resigned to his passion; but the excess of his tenderness more effectually secured his respect than the diversity of our stations.

I passed two happy years in the pleasure of indulging and inspiring a reciprocal passion, less mortified by my propensity for one of inferior rank, than exulting in the triumph of its moderation. I was happy ; but I lost my father ; and I know not whether I should have been able to survive him, had it not been for those tender sentiments which console every misfortune, and with which my bosom was replete. Here Sarah melted into tears, and remained for some time silent. It is she, said I then to myself, it is she ! I can no longer doubt of her identity. I was dissolved to ineffable tenderness ; I was ready to discover myself to Sarah ; but I was restrained by the fear of lessening her confidence in me, and thus of losing a part of her history, which, when her tears ceased to flow, she thus resumed.

I saw the regret of Philips equal to my own ; nor did he only feel the anguish of his own private affliction, but largely participated mine. His sympathetic eye was moistened when he saw me shed tears ; I saw the most tender concern in his minutest actions. In the services which he rendered me, in his conversation, in his whole demeanour, even in his air, in the tone of his voice, I discovered the force of that passion which claimed equal returns from a grateful heart, without any appearances which might alarm my virtue, or violate the respect due to my

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rank.

rank. You will easily imagine that I made many reflections on the decorums which that rank exacted, upon the real duties which it implied, and upon that submission which one owes to the manners, laws, and customs of his country. My father's philosophy had emancipated my mind from prejudices ; but that philosophy, sublime as his own heart, had not taught me to despise them. My conversations with Philips often turned upon these subjects, important in themselves, and in which our present situation now so deeply interested us. Sometimes I insinuated doubts with respect to the justice of some of those tacit compacts which prevail in civil life ; and, of consequence, with respect to the influence which they ought to have upon such minds as were informed and cultivated. Philips then opposed me with energy, and produced a number of arguments, which I had difficulty in refuting. I could observe, that, when he had the advantage in these disputes, he was more dejected than ordinary. I was no stranger to the motives which induced him to embrace an opinion by no means favourable to himself. I saw, that my dear Philips, though wholly devoted to me, forgot himself, and had nothing in view but my particular advantage, happiness, and honour ; yet could he not, without much pain, make a sacrifice which was to cost him so dearly. I was
fond

fond of speaking to Philips concerning his relations, their virtues, and what kind of happiness they enjoyed in their poverty. I put questions to him with respect to the place where they dwelt, their neighbourhood, and their employment. Philips appeared to me to regard the life of farmers, and the cares of agriculture, with cordial veneration and respect. Consider, said he, what would be the internal condition of any state which, by its want of industry, or even by extrinsic commerce, felt itself insufficient for its own exigencies. Must it not be under a necessity of importing, from its neighbouring kingdoms, even the essential necessaries and comforts of life? Must it not then be subjected to the interested views of its neighbours, to the caprice of elements, and to a thousand other contingencies, no less fatal in their nature, than difficult to be enumerated? But, supposing the state to be commercial, Where can a more real and permanent source of inexhaustible wealth be found, than in the improvement of its soil, and in the culture of its native products? These advantages do not derive their importance from taste, from fashion, or from other temporary and occasional circumstances, but are founded on the constant and universal demands of life. A state where agriculture is encouraged, is populous and hardy for war, secure and opulent in peace. Its manufac-

nufacturers, cheaply provided with the necessaries of life, can furnish its luxuries and elegancies at a lower rate than other kingdoms ; because the price of labour will, in most cases, bear a strict proportion to the rate of such commodities as are indispensibly necessary for the comfort and subsistence of society.

He always spoke to me of my family, and reiterated to me, how much regard and attachment that family to which I was dear, and which was so illustrious in England, deserved from me. It is true, that I experienced from my relations a procedure agreeable to the strictest humanity and honour, whilst it was expressive of the highest deference for my understanding. With respect to me, they had shortened the time during which, according to our laws, young ladies are supposed to continue in their minority, and incapable to dispose either of themselves or their fortunes. I found myself entirely mistress of my person and effects ; my relations felt no uneasiness to leave me in full liberty, and with ample powers to direct my own conduct alone. My inclination for letters and philosophy was known ; they found that I was intelligent in affairs, and imagined, that, when in the country, I was wholly engrossed by the care of my effects and my studies. It was now near a year since my father's death ; and I had not as yet

yet departed from the scene where I was a melancholy witness of his fate. I have an uncle, a man of merit, distinguished in the house of commons for the force of his eloquence and the disinterestedness of his character. He sometimes came to see me. One day, after having dined with me, he proposed a walk in the park; and there he put me in mind of the friendship which had always subsisted between himself and my father, and the real attachment which both had entertained for me. I have a son, said he, who has distinguished himself in his studies; and, for some years that he has been absent from England, all the letters which I receive from the countries where he has travelled, confirm the good opinion which I had of him. He is of your own age, and prepared to return home. It is my inclination to have him married. If he should prove agreeable to you, I will have the pleasure of seeing the fortune still continued in the family, and of loving you as my own daughter, after having long loved you as the child of my brother. This proposal filled my heart with the most poignant bitterness: I blushed, turned pale, and answered my uncle with a frigidity which ought to have offended him. I told him I had no inclination for matrimony; that, till then, I had found sufficient resources for happiness in my taste for letters, and other occupations;

tions ; that, if ever I joined with a husband, I could not resolve on such an union, without having previously formed a long and intimate acquaintance ; and that my choice would be determined by personal congruities, rather than by connections of any other kind ; but that, at no period of my life, would I forget what I owed to my family. My uncle asked my permission to introduce his son to me, whom I had never seen since he was just rising from an infant to a boy, whose form was then agreeable, and, by what they told me, he was full of tenderness for me. I replied to this new overture in a manner so cold, that my heart reproached me for it. A crowd of ideas presented themselves to my mind in rapid succession.

When my uncle departed, I plunged myself into the depth of an umbrageous wood, where I long walked in violent agitation, accelerating my steps as the tumult of my mind increased, and stopping from time to time in those moments when I found some difficulty in removing certain obstacles, or in answering certain objections. At last I fell, rather than seated myself, upon a green turff, where I remained absorbed in the most profound reverie ; there I saw Philips arrive, who had sought me for a long time ; on no former occasion had I felt so sensibly the pleasure of seeing him, and the absolute necessity

sity of never parting with him. I communicated to him my uncle's design, and the sincere regret which I felt from the prospect of disobliging my family, in rejecting proposals, which, without doubt, were reasonable. I expatiated with too much feeling upon this regret. I shall all my life reproach myself for having excruciated the heart of Philips with a torment so cruel : I saw him grow pale ; a tremour seized his whole frame ; the motion of his eyes was wild ; it was inexpressible ; he could only utter a few broken words ; he could not pronounce a syllable without sensible difficulty. It is, cried he ——, yes, it is inevitable —— a man of youth and virtue —— your relations —— your rank —— it cannot —— alas ! it cannot be avoided. I saw the lustre of his eyes extinguished whilst he gazed upon me : He fell upon his knees, supporting himself with one hand. I was no longer mistress of myself ; I sprung to support my beloved Philips ; I pressed him in my arms, crying out, my dear husband ! To this tender exclamation, this energetic address, Philips answered nothing : He gently rose with his look fixed upon me ; his eyes were bathed in tears ; I sprinkled him with mine, continually repeating, my dear husband, my dear husband ! As soon as Philips found strength enough to speak, he endeavoured to oppose my resolution ; I stopped him, and conjured

jured him by all our reciprocal tenderness to hear me with tranquillity: He seated himself near me, holding me by the hand. This moment, which determined the happiness of my life, is still so present in my imagination, that I have not forgot the minutest circumstance. This, then, was what I said to Philips:

I know all that you can alledge; I have anticipated your objections, and thus I answer them: It is not a blind passion that I entertain for you; I know you well, and you are the person selected for me by nature and destiny. These have placed the happiness of marriage in the suitableness of persons and characters one to another; for these the folly of man has, by agreement, substituted suitableness of station. Both you and I know with what sincere respect a real sage will treat human conventions; they maintain order in society. We must not debase the rank in which we are born by alliances which opinion condemns; it is a crime punished with the contempt of men, and that contempt, even though unjust, I cannot support.

Must we then subject the laws of nature to social compact? This may sometimes be necessary; but our circumstances demand not such a sacrifice; let us at once obey the impulse of our hearts, and shew a proper degree of respect for salutary prejudices. My relations have left me
possessed

possessed of an estate yielding 2100 pounds *per ann.* besides 3150 pounds in ready cash. It is this last sum which, of all my fortune, I wish to reserve, that I may live with you and your relations. Here Philips endeavoured to interrupt me. He proposed that we should not marry. I stopped him, and said to him, we shall at once violate the laws of nature, and the claims of society, which demanded from us proper returns for our existence ; and why should we not marry to preserve my fortune ? It does not make me rich in my present situation ; I shall, however, be opulent in your station with the sum which I bring you. Had I married my cousin, we should have been in that rank of gentry which holds a mediocrity ; by the change now proposed, we shall become wealthy farmers. I shall immediately make my will, and transfer my whole fortune to my cousin ; I will then set out for London, diffuse the report of my death, and we will repair to Scotland, where it is probable that our marriage may obtain the sanction of your father's consent.

Philips threw himself at my feet, conjured me to act with deliberation, to explore my own heart to revolve the change of life which I had proposed in all its consequences, and to tremble, lest I should afterwards regret the sacrifice which I had made. No, replied I, every thing has
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been maturely weighed. And what have I to regret? What pleasure can I derive from my wealth, which nature can neither relish nor enjoy, but in rendering your condition more easy? The view of a smiling and fertile landscape is more pleasing to the sight than a wall covered with pictures; the diamonds which at present sparkle on my head are less ornamental than flowers; I shall be as conveniently and decently dressed in linen or cotton as in silk; I shall part with my coach, but my limbs will acquire new vigour by exercise. We shall possess, my Philips, every comfort or necessary which nature demands, and nothing superfluous to amuse idleness or gratify luxury. With respect to my connections and acquaintances, can I regret my absence from them, when I become the daughter of your father, and the mother of your children?

Philips loved me too tenderly; he esteemed me too much; he was too just to himself to be longer afraid lest I should be unhappy in the new situation into which I was determined to enter. I will not attempt to describe his joy, his gratitude, or my own happiness, when our union was determined. Never did any one form a contract with greater joy, than I felt in writing my will; never did any one acquire, all of a sudden, with so much pleasure, a great fortune, as I felt

felt in resigning mine. After having settled my affairs, we departed from London. There I caused the report of my death to be spread ; and I rendered it probable by management and address, of which it is unnecessary to fatigue you with a detail. We arrived at length in Scotland. It is seven years since, for the first time, I entered into this dear farm ; and since, for the first time, I embraced that excellent old man whom you behold seated on that stone, basking in the morning ray, and regaling his age with the fragrance of the spring. You see your daughter, said I to him ; she enters into your house to render your old age happy ; to devote her whole life to the pleasure and satisfaction of your son. My heart, which is so tenderly interested for you, will always suggest such a course of action as must be agreeable to both. You, my husband, you will instruct me in the details of oeconomy. I flatter myself that I shall discharge these duties with vigilance, and that those who may depend upon me, and those upon whom I have the pleasure of depending, will be equally satisfied with my behaviour. The old man was in a transport of joy : The serene satisfaction which he feels has no doubt protracted his days. He has acquired, as his own property, that farm, in which he was formerly no more than a tenant ; the measures of our procedure,

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as a family, were concluded ; and, since that time, when I have assumed the name and station of the man whom I love, not an hour has passed in which I have not felicitated myself in my destiny. We are, at present, happy, and have reason to flatter ourselves that we shall continue so as long as Nature will permit. Philips and I make no other use of our acquaintance with my father's philosophy, and of our taste for letters, than as they heighten and confirm our felicity. We are attentive in exploring all the pleasures with which our situation indulges us, and we learn to relish them. One of the most common sources from whence vexation and bitterness flows through human life, is, that men pursue pleasures which are by no means suitable to them, nor intended for them ; and that they are incapable of reconciling their principles, their tastes, their occupations, with their station and character. This is an error into which we have not fallen. We will not lose our time in vain researches, in useless desires, nor forget the enjoyment of present in the pursuit of absent good. What is it that renders Philips and myself happy ? the approbation of our conscience, the enjoyment of our love, and the beneficence of Nature. We have fixed principles, beyond which we cannot be drawn either by irregular passions, or tempting circumstances, and which we continue

tinue to strengthen and improve by philosophy. We only imbibe the wisdom of such philosophers as maintain the reality of virtue, and render our souls enamoured of her ; nay, even though they should be deceived, our hearts are grateful to them for assisting us to entertain a delusion which elevates and purifies our minds. We wish to think well of men, that we may have the pleasure of loving them. We cultivate esteem for our species, that we may have one additional motive to render ourselves estimable. We do not embrace a philosophy which debases our nature, and extinguishes the enthusiasm of virtue and humanity in the heart. We wish likewise to preserve, in all their vigour, and in all their charms, the sentiments of love and friendship. It is not to be doubted, that, into these sentiments, when carried to excess, a small degree of deception must enter. There are allusions which, in the course of time, cease to exist ; but it is not these which we wish to preserve ; we know how to substitute others in their places. Philips and I do not imagine one another perfect ; but the tendency of our souls, the end of our efforts, is to become so. We have already made some advances in virtue and goodness, and we still hope to accelerate our progress ; and, whilst we enjoy the degrees that we have already attained, we likewise enjoy the hopes of nobler acquisitions,

tions, to which we aspire ; the present satisfies, the future transports us. This design of improving in perfection by each other's aid, whilst it endears our connection, renders us necessary one to the other. By dignifying our sentiments, it renders them more delightful when perceived, and more worthy to be cultivated : It adds even to the personal respect which we pay ourselves. It preserves the affections of our hearts in full energy, and animates the delightful enthusiasm of love. It is to cherish in our bosoms an unextinguishable fondness for virtue, and to teach us how it may be properly exerted, that we frequently read the romances of Richardson. How often have we performed good actions by impulses and ideas derived from that benevolent author, and which perhaps we should not have done without the light and information he dispenses ! We are also very fond of reading the poets ; but we prefer those who describe the scenes in which we are conversant, and paint, in all her beauty, that Nature of which we are enamoured. The perusal of rural poetry is peculiarly delightful to those who have the objects of its description within their view. Poetry animates every thing which it describes. The enthusiasm of the poet always, in some measure, inflames and stimulates that of the spectator ; it even preserves those propensities in life and motion

tion by habit. Poetry inspires us with love and respect for agriculture, which is equally venerable for its antiquity and utility, for the employments which we pursue, and the scenes which we inhabit. We sometimes say one to another, Homer and Virgil would have been happy here ; Tibullus might here indulge his passion for Delia ; he would sing her praise ; nor would these beechen shades, nor this beautiful vale, be suppressed in his song. It was in the country that Haller and Gesner composed their delightful poems ; and what state of life have these great men preferred to ours ? what manners have they preferred to those which are exhibited in the country ? The poets preserve in our minds those agreeable sensations which we originally imbibe from nature ; they even teach us to enjoy a great number of those sensations which might have made but feeble impressions on our organs, and escaped the notice of imagination itself. All those men who have spoken or written with warmth and elevation of thought, and whose works are replete with sentiment and imagery, induce the soul to be enamoured of herself, and all around her, till the perceptions of existence and delight become the same ; in a word, we have regulated our plan of happiness by reason, and, of consequence, we deduce it from the most simple, real, and permanent sources. We have

have made it our whole study to cultivate in our breasts those sentiments which humanize, embellish, and dignify our nature, and to enjoy them in the same manner as other agreeable sensations. This appears to me the best use we can make of the best philosophy. In these times, it has degenerated into false subtleties ; it has often disgraced that nature which it ought to have adorned and consoled ; it has been more occupied in degrading than in conducting the human being ; it ought rather to have shewn us what advantages or enjoyments are attainable and accommodated to every state of life, and what are the peculiar duties of every rank. This was the plan of my father, and he would have executed it, if he had survived. He likewise thought that men had been taught to be too negligent of their external senses, and to despise such pleasures as may approach the soul through those avenues, though simple in their enjoyment, easy in their acquisition, accessible almost in every moment of our lives, and accommodated to every period of our existence. We conduct ourselves according to the lessons of my father, and we bring up our children upon the same principles ; in the meanwhile, they enjoy all that gaiety and cheerfulness which is natural to childhood, and we make their happiness our own, by delighting in the view of their enjoyments.

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Several times had I wished to interrupt Sarah, and discover myself ; but she spoke with so much rapidity, that not an instant was left me to address her. As soon as she had finished her narration, I threw myself at her feet : O Sarah Th—— ! The moment I pronounced her name, she rose with precipitation, and exclaimed, I am undone. No, said I, you are not undone. You see before your eyes that relation who has loved you from his infancy, and who, with tears of bitter anguish, has deplored your supposed fate. Blush no more in declaring your passion for a man of virtue. You have left me your fortune ; but, with all my soul, I am ready to restore it : Receive it, I entreat you ; but, whatever course you take, depend upon inviolable secrecy. I had much difficulty in calming the perturbations which Sarah felt upon this discovery ; she highly disapproved her own conduct for having indulged any man with her confidence without necessity. In refusing my overture to restore her wealth, she was inflexible ; and Philips, who entered a moment after I had made myself known, agreed with her. Cast your eyes, said he to me, upon our farm, survey it with attention, and you will find it abundantly productive of every thing necessary or comfortable to life : Visit our gardens, our fields, our meadow, our flocks, and pronounce, if you think any thing

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can be wanting to us: Examine our furniture, is it not neat and convenient? Does not our table appear to be wholesome and plentiful? Were we richer than we are at present, we should no longer perform, with equal concern, the same rural tasks which we now execute with ardour; our inclination for labour would stimulate us with less force; a fastidious and disagreeable languor would then usurp those moments which are now delightfully occupied in rural toils; without that weariness which enhances the pleasure of repose, without that feeling of expediency or necessity which render duty the object of inclination, without these causes of exertion by which we are at present actuated, perpetually engaged in amusement, we should presently be disgusted with those very recreations which can only be agreeable as the alternatives of serious business. Could we live without the product of our harvests and our flocks, how insipid would the prospect of plentiful crops and fine wool appear to us? These pleasing hopes, these sweet anticipations would no longer warm our souls; our fields almost useless, or at least useful in producing superfluities alone, would be less precious in our eyes; we should survey the country with indifference; and, who knows but every other enthusiasm might be extinguished with that which nature inspires! Should our souls lose in
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any degree their activity, which is the inevitable result of a life spent in indolence, perhaps the tenderness which we feel for each other might be debilitated. All our present feelings are only various modifications or improvements of happiness; they are suited to our station, they are connected one with another, our felicity depends upon a system whose parts naturally cohere, and in which nothing can be changed without destroying the whole.

I made new attempts to induce them to resume their property, but with the same success as before; nor could I obtain from my disinterested relations the pleasure of restoring them those advantages which they had resigned to me; but I obtained from them a concession dearer to my soul than all that fortune can bestow; it was their esteem, their tenderness, their intercourse, and their invitation to pass every year a few days in their delightful retreat.

Whilst we were engaged in this conversation, which was warm and interesting, the father of Philips, though at some distance, observed us uncommonly engaged. He made a signal to Sarah, that he might learn from her, whether his approach would be seasonable. She made him such returns as were natural to her benignity, and he advanced. How is this, cried he? I have for some time observed all of you warmly

ly engaged, and variously agitated. Sarah then informed him, that she had discovered herself to me, and that I was the relation whose alliance had been proposed by her uncle, and which was the cause of the tender expostulation between her and Philips, that preceded their marriage. Since, then, replied the old man, discoveries are in fashion, allow me to have some share in them. I may, perhaps, communicate something which will be equally, though not disagreeably surprising to all the company. Learn then, that, in the person of Farmer Philips, you behold Sir David Sib——, the representative of a family distinguished by its descent, and by its misfortunes. My ancestors were inviolably attached to the house of Stuart, they pursued its destiny, and were involved in its ruin. I was the person on whom that calamity fell, with all its weight. Divested of my title and estate, attainted for high treason, I fled the country. I had powerful recommendations to foreign courts; but their entertainment was cold and formal. A knight of Scotland had a soul too sublime to brook such abject dependence. I returned to my native land in the disguise of a labourer; nor was I unknown to the tenants on my estate, and the people in the neighbourhood. But, so dear had my family been to all the circumjacent country, that no reward could induce the meanest peasant,

fant, or even the poorest beggar, to betray me. For a considerable succession of years the leases of my tenants had not been raised; and they still retained their farms from the new government on much the same conditions as they had held them from me. Whether this advantage accrued to them from the influence of neighbouring gentlemen with the factors, or from ministerial inattention, I cannot at present determine; but their circumstances were so easy, that, by contributions from themselves, their connections, and their neighbours, they offered to collect an annuity which might still maintain me in the rank of an idle gentleman. This favour, however, I obstinately refused. But the same advantageous prepossessions assisted me in obtaining credit for a small farm, with a stock proportioned to its extent, and suitable to its quality. In the mean time my son, who, though formed upon principles of humanity and honour, was entirely unacquainted with his origin, went into England, and entered into the service of this Lady's father. From thence he annually transmitted to me as much of his wages as he could possibly spare. By these assistances, I was gradually enabled to enlarge the extent of my tenement, and increase the value of my stock. In this situation, Sarah found me; and from her we derive all the external advantages, and all
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the domestic blessings which at present we possess.

During this relation, every one in the happy society seemed to feel all the functions of life suspended. We were scarcely able to breathe, but remained like so many statues in fixed astonishment. I offered to exert my whole interest, and that of my friends, for restoring the old Gentleman to his former situation, that he might resume his name and honours. No, replied he, Farmer Philips would not alter his present condition for the most brilliant crown, or extensive dominion beneath the canopy of heaven. Here I enjoy all the happiness of which my being is susceptible. In any other sphere, I have every thing to lose, and nothing to gain.

I departed not without shedding tears for this family, so wise, so amiable, so happy.

I left them with full conviction, that wisdom and felicity may be found amongst men. May this conviction stimulate and enlighten my progress in the attainment of both! Whatever be the event of this, the habitation which I possess in the neighbourhood of my relations is become dear to me. I flatter myself, that my returns thither shall be frequent; perhaps I may one day return, never to leave it. I am now engaged in the task of rebuilding it. The fortune which descended to me from Sarah shall never be dissipated

sipated by me ; I will divide its rents among the poorest of our relations, and the capital, with all the improvement which it can receive from my industry, shall return to the children of Philip and Sarah.

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T H E
I M M O R T A L I T Y
O F
A U T H O R S,
A V I S I O N*.

Debemur morti nos nostraque. H O R.

THERE is nothing better calculated to humble the pride of ambitious and vain-glorious mortals, than to reflect on the short duration of life, and of all human productions. Not only men, but cities and kingdoms, have their stated periods of existence assigned them; at the end of which they are heard of no more. Travellers tell us, that the great wall of China, and the pyramids of Egypt, begin already to crumble into dust. The lofty edifices of Babylon are all now vanished from the earth, and the mighty empires of Assyria, Greece, and Rome, which, like so many devouring gulfs, swallowed up half the kingdoms of the globe, are themselves now lost in the immense ocean of Oblivion. E-
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* Supposed to be written 30 years ago.

ven the most exquisite works of genius, though sometimes of longer duration than kingdoms, cities, and states, perish at last, and the names of the authors are forgot.

A reflection of this nature has often presented itself to my mind upon entering a great library ; and, like Xerxes, I have wept to think, that, among so vast a multitude of books, scarce one would be found after a certain number of years. This happened to be the subject of my meditations one evening lately, as I was taking a solitary walk by the side of a spacious river which waters my habitation. The face of nature (it being then towards the end of autumn) seemed well adapted to the reflections I pursued. The falling of the leaves recalled to my mind those families by which the antients illustrate the succession of human generations, and the approaching darkness filled my soul with ideas of that gloomy oblivion which soon must efface the enterprises of, and throw an everlasting veil, over their productions. Having wrought up my fancy with thoughts of this nature to a kind of melancholy rapture, I found myself wearied ; and, sitting down under an aged oak, whose thick boughs defended me from the damp of the evening, my senses were soon overpowered, and I gradually sunk into an agreeable slumber.

All on a sudden, I thought myself transported to the side of a lofty mountain, the foot of which was entirely covered with bushes and thickets, but towards the top, shaded with beautiful groves of laurel. I stood a while wondering where I was ; but, casting my eyes upwards, I beheld the mountain transcend the clouds with two beautiful summits, on the height of which was the appearance of a winged horse. From this circumstance, and the sight of three beautiful fountains not far distant, I knew I was within the precincts of Parnassus, consecrated to the muses, and celebrated as the habitation of Apollo. This discovery filled my heart with joy, and disposed me to take a nearer survey of one of those fountains which, according to the descriptions of the poets, sprung out of the earth at the stamp of Pegasus. While I gazed with admiration upon its enchanting waters, and was filled with ecstasy by the divine airs which reached me from the summit of the hill, I saw the Goddess Minerva descending near me in a cloud of gold, and dreadful with the Ægis and the head of the Gorgon ; but arrayed in simple majesty, as when she sprang from the head of Jove, or visited the banks of Ilissus, to inspire her favourite Athenians with immortal wisdom. These waters, says the Goddess, addressing herself to me, are sacred to the muses and Apollo. Dost thou not perceive

ceive that the small rill which descends from the mountain increases to a great river before it reaches the bottom ; and has several outlets on the left bank, all which terminate in a great sea or lake. This river is called the River of Time, and the huge collection of waters on the left is named the Lake of Oblivion. Into the great stream all the works of genius are, at their first appearance, indiscriminately thrown ; though none continue any time in it, but such as have been licensed in the court of Apollo, and stamped with the seal of the God. The rest soon make their exit through one or other of the narrow passages, by which they are conveyed to the Lake of Oblivion, and never more appear. At first this lake was of small extent, till Jupiter, at the request of Apollo, released Typhæus from Tartarus, and forced him to enlarge its bounds till they equalled those of the Caspian Sea. The Goddess next conducted me to the bottom of the mountain, where the river began to enlarge itself, and where I saw a prodigious number of demons, in the habit of printers, throwing books into the river ; what surprised me was, that not one of five hundred passed the first stream that led to Oblivion, and scarce one of ten thousand could keep the middle of the current for any considerable time. The first outlet, which had been purposely made larger than all the rest
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joined together, was quite full of immense shoals of Romances, modern poems, Hutchinsonian gibberish, and tracts of deism. Among these last, I was surprised to find the works of a late celebrated noble author ; but Minerva told me, it had been decreed in the court of the Destinies, that neither beauty of diction, poignancy of wit, nor gracefulness of elocution, should be able to preserve from Oblivion, books published with so malevolent a design, as that of turning the Mysteries of heaven into ridicule. It would be a most sensible mortification to our modern authors, was I to describe with what wonderful speed their works crowded, one after another, toward the great lake ; Poetry, History, Criticism, Miscellanies without end, and ship loads of Controversy, all seemed to vie with one another which should first arrive at the capacious region of Forgetfulness. Even the specious title of Religion could not save some performances, nor the patronage of crowns, stars, and mitres, others. Having for a while beheld, with abundance of compassion, the dismal havock which was here made among the productions of modern genius, the Goddess led me by the hand down the banks of the great river, where I found the outlets from it grow narrower and narrower. These, I was told, were only designed as so many strainers to convey to Oblivion

such

such passages as were a discredit to works otherwise worthy of immortality. When we had arrived at the last of these channels, I saw a book in the middle of the stream opposite to it, which all at once stood still, as if held by some invisible power. This I found to be the volumes of the Spectator, which were making several faint motions toward the lake, when the goddess Clio, darting from the clouds, with a magic rod in her hand, touched the volumes; upon which all the papers marked with her own name separated from the rest, and floated toward the island of Immortality, while the remainder sheered off toward the left hand. Minerva told me, that the works of the greatest geniuses had undergone a like purgation when they reached this place; that Shakespeare was here reduced to two small volumes; and that, when the works of the great Milton arrived there, the Paradise Lost burst from the rest with a sound like thunder, while the muses attended it in triumph down the river of Time, and shouted so loud in praise of their darling poem, that the heavens and earth resounded. I was likewise informed, that, when the writings of the Dean of St Patrick's had come opposite to the above mentioned outlet, a flock of harpy-footed monsters, whose names were Scurrility, Misanthropy, Irreligion, &c. gathered about them, and were pul-

ling them by main force towards the lake, but that Momus interceded in their behalf, and obtained leave of Apollo to collect all of them that could be saved from the paws of the demons, in order to have them placed in the temple of the muses beside Lucian and Cervantes, as a sovereign cure for the ladies of Parnassus, when any of them should be seized with a fit of the spleen. I was quite overjoyed, when, casting my eyes upwards, I saw the works of several authors, who are still alive, rolling down the stream of Time in a triumphant manner, and hastened to the place where I stood. While I gazed attentively on them, I discovered Apollo, on the opposite bank, pointing them out to the muses, and heard him distinctly pronounce the names of Voltaire and Johnson, and a few more, whom I think proper to conceal. I waited with impatience to see what course they would take when they arrived at the last rivulet that parted from the stream of Time. But the Goddess, unwilling to gratify my ardent curiosity, snatched me immediately by the hand, and rapidly led me down the banks of the great river, skimming all the way along the earth, with that easy and majestic motion which Heliodorus ascribes to the gods.

After a prodigious long journey, we came to a place where the river seemed to terminate in
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an immense ocean, that was covered with awful darkness and gloomy clouds ; yet, in the midst of this obscurity, I thought I could discern something like the glimmerings of light, not unlike the appearance of the sun shining through a very thick fog. My blood seemed to be congealed in my veins, when the Goddess entered with me into this horrible darkness. But all my fears were instantly removed, when we landed upon a most glorious island, whence that splendour came which I had a little before beheld. Mortal, says Minerva, receive the indulgence of the gods with thankfulness ; thou art now upon the island of Immortality, the eternal mansion of those divine geniuses, whose writings have escaped the dangers of time, and been judged worthy of a perpetual existence. My soul was swallowed up in ecstasy as she pronounced these words, and I set myself, with eagerness, to survey the splendours of that most heavenly place. The clouds, which at a distance seemed terrible and black, here appeared radiant as the sun, and quite resplendent with glory. The face of the ground was covered with flowers of unfading texture, that shone like stars, and shed the most exquisite perfumes. The music of the groves, loaded with fragrance, ravished my ears with delightful melody. The rivers flowed with Nectar, pleasing to the taste, and beautiful as burnished

burnished gold. Every pebble shone as a diamond, and the very sand as the broken fragments of the sun's image reflected from a river through a thicket. In the middle of the island rose a huge rock of adamant, which, by the strength of immortal hands, had been cut out into a spacious temple, of a circular form, and supported with stately columns, that in number equalled the days of the year. Over the great gate which led to this magnificent building, was the image of a serpent wreathed into a circle, after the old Ægyptian manner, to denote Eternity. The gate itself was of burnished gold, and studded with opals, topazes, and amethysts. Upon our approach, it flew open of its own accord, and discovered all the wonders of the place to my astonished eye. Supported by the Goddesses, I entered this holy mansion with a divine awe upon my spirits, and gazed with raptures upon the objects which presented themselves in this sacred recess of the Muses. The concave roof was of a pure azure colour, filled with sparkling gems, that resembled the stars, and were placed in the same order as the constellations which adorn our hemisphere. From the middle hung, in a golden chain fastened to the roof, a huge ball of light, which served in place of a true sun, and illuminated the whole building. Around it the planets performed their revolutions

volutions, in their stated terms and periods, while, upon the ball which represented our globe, sat the immortal Sir Isaac Newton, with a rod of gold in his hand, pointing out the true systems of Nature. Around the walls were hung the pictures of these masters in painting and statuary, whose divine genius had merited a place for them in the temple of immortality. This honour, I was told, had been decreed them in recompense for the fading nature of the materials upon which the specimens of their wonderful arts were exhibited, and which had been dashed to pieces amidst rocks and shelves, when rolling down the flood of Time. The portrait of Raphael had inscribed upon it the famous epitaph composed by Bemley, and that of Corregio held in its hand the wonderful picture of the Nativity, an object which attracted the eyes of the whole company, who viewed, with admiration, that miracle of unassisted genius. The pavement of the temple was a beautiful piece of Mosaic, composed of an infinite number of precious stones, whose various colours exhibited an exact representation of those countries where learning and the sciences had been principally cultivated. Ægypt, Assyria, Greece, and Italy, were here delineated with the utmost exactness. But what chiefly commanded my attention, was

a most glorious representation of our own island, which, as Shakespeare describes it, appeared like a gem set in a sea of silver. When I had satiated my eyes with a view of all these wonders, I began to look around in quest of the books that were deposited here, when the goddess immediately pointed them out to me, in a place which had hitherto escaped my observation. I flew towards them, and could scarce refrain from tears, when I saw how few they were in number. The first I beheld was the divine Iliad. I snatched the book from the place where it stood, and, casting it open, I found all its characters legible by their own light. The death of Patroclus, however, I found very much altered. The Episode of Jupiter and Juno was not to be seen. Virgil's works was the next volume I took into my hands. The Georgics and the Æneid were almost quite entire; but I was not a little surprised when I saw neither could be read, but by the light which was reflected on them from the writings of Homer and Hesiod. I no sooner fixed my eyes on the productions of our own Milton, which stood beside these two, than a flash of insufferable splendour darted upon them from the roof of the temple. I cast a look upwards, to see whence it came, and could, with great pleasure, read, in letters of burning gold,

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“The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.”

I took the *Paradise Lost* in my hands, and, looking into it, found, that some passages shone with such amazing brightness, that I could hardly look upon them, while others appeared dark and confused, and differed little from a mere blank. Among these last, were the description of the Limbo of Vanity, long sentences of School Divinity, and the puns and quibbles of the Angels. There was hardly a book more to be found, beside these three, in the place designed for heroic poets; and what was very surprising, not the least room left for more. I looked with earnest expectation to find some of the heroic compositions of Lucan, Statius, Ariosto, Champaigne, and Sir Richard Blackmore; but Minerva told me these had been long ago sent to the lake of Oblivion, with the *Iliad* of Tryphiodorus. Among poets of inferior rank to the above mentioned three, I found Pindar, Anacreon, Sophocles, and Euripides, among the Greeks, Terence, Horace, and two or three more, among the Latins. Of modern poetical compositions, none had a place assigned them here but a few fragments of our dramatic writers, and the immortal Shakespeare, who stood in the same shelf with a few of the tragedies of Corneille, Racine, and the *Cato* of Mr Addison. Scarce any thing of Dryden was preserved, but his divine ode on
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St Cecilia's day, and this bound up with a few remains of Spencer, Cowley, Waller, Prior, and Parnell. I could scarce forbear smiling, when I cast my eyes on Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd; but Minerva told me it had been deservedly handed down to immortality as the most genuine picture of rural nature ever the world had produced. The next set of authors I began to consider were the philosophers; but, alas! few of them were to be discovered. Plato, indeed, with one or two more of Socrates's school, had come hither, but very much shattered, and reduced to a small bulk. Nothing of Aristotle was to be seen but his Ethics, and a treatise of poetry; and, of all the Roman philosophers, none had a place but Cicero and the Emperor Antoninus. Near them I found several of the writings of the great Bacon, Locke, and Sir Robert Boyle, but extremely few, besides, of all the multitude of philosophers who appeared during the two last centuries. The historians came next under my consideration; but their number was proportioned to that of the rest. Some of them, I was told, had disappeared for their vanity, others for their prolixity; but the greater part for their unfaithfulness and partiality. In the place designed for critics, stood none but Longinus and Horace, though there was room left for two more, whom Minerva told me were Boileau and Addison. I demanded of
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her where the commentators, translators, controvertists, and scholastic writers stood ; but she answered, not one of them had ever appeared there ; and, when I made mention of Romance, she said no writings of that kind had reached the island of immortality, but one, which was intended to turn all the others into ridicule. The last thing I discovered was a beautiful casket, enriched with diamonds and precious stones, not unlike that which Alexander is said to have found in the tent of Darius. In this, the Goddesses told me, were deposited the precious remains of several ages and nations, which, though but little known, were judged worthy of immortality. Upon opening it, I first perceived the two odes of Sappho and Alceæus, and a few fragments of the other Grecian Lyrics. There were also preserved a number of small poems in different languages and characters, some of them composed in Lapland, some written by old Scots bards, and others produced in the wilds of America. What surprised me not a little, was to find in this collection several very antient poems, celebrating the achievements of British heroes ; which performances, though of infinite value, were absolutely unknown, except to a few, who were acquainted with the two original languages of this island. While I was looking over some of these with very great pleasure, my ears were suddenly

suddenly struck with the sound of most exquisite music, which seemed approaching nearer and nearer the temple. I inquired, with eagerness, what was the meaning of it, when the Goddess, with a smile, told me, that the writings of the great Mr Pope had just reached the island of immortality, and were now to be deposited in the temple, along with the productions of other divine geniuses. She scarce had said this, when the gate of the temple burst open, and the whole band of the Muses entered, each carrying a volume of the incomparable bard. The music I had heard was an anthem they were singing in his praise, whilst Apollo joined them with his golden lyre, and filled the place with such ravishing airs, that all my soul was melted with their harmony. When the anthem was ended, each of the Goddesses cast open the volume in her hand, upon which I thought such a sudden flash of lightening darted through the whole building, that I started back in a kind of astonishment. The agitations my spirits received from it awakened me from my dream.

T H E
CONSPIRACY OF THE SPANIARDS
AGAINST
THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE,

In the Year 1618.

OF all human enterprises, conspiracies are the greatest. Courage, prudence, and fidelity, indispenfibly requisite in all concerned, are talents uncommon in their own nature, and still more rarely united in the same person. As a man often flatters himself that he is more beloved than is really the case, especially when he has merited and assiduously cultivated regard; the leaders of conspiracies sometimes rely implicitly on the affection of their accomplices, without considering how few friendships are stronger than the fear of death. Affection, when violent, blinds the mind in unexpected emergencies, and is destitute of necessary prudence. Most men, whose desires are sanguine, too readily discover their object. When a conspirator's under-

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understanding leaves no apprehensions from his indiscretion, he is proportionably cautious and dispassionate. He knows too well the extent and probability of the danger he incurs, and the various means of extrication. He sees, in short, how uncertain are the advantages which may accrue from the undertaking; and that, by making a discovery to those against whom it is formed, he insures his reward. Besides, mens knowledge resulting mostly from their experience, they seldom reason justly on the first affair in which they are engaged. The wisest are they who improve by their mistakes, and thence derive light and information for their future conduct. But, as no comparison subsists, either in danger or difficulty, between a conspiracy and any other business, whatever a man's general experience may be, it can, in this case, furnish him neither with light, nor any determined rule of action. Not to blunder materially in a conspiracy, a man must have been concerned in one already; but it rarely happens that the same person is ever engaged in two. If the first succeeds, its advantages generally raise his condition above the necessity of again exposing himself to the same danger. But, if it fails, he perishes: Or, should he escape, he is seldom inclined to run the same risk a second time. Add to these inconveniences, that, however much we may detest tyrants,
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still self-love will surmount our hatred to another : That faith among conspirators is not of itself sufficient, unless each of them can fully rely on the fidelity of his associates : That a leader must attend to all the panics, and unaccountable fancies, by which they may be seized, as well as to the more arduous difficulties of his attempt ; because the former, equally with the latter, may render it abortive : That a word dropped on another subject, an unintentional gesture, may make them believe, that their plot is betrayed, and may precipitate its execution : That a frivolous circumstance with respect to time or place, is sufficient sometimes to affrighten them, merely because it was not foreseen : And, finally, that, from the nature of the human frame, as they always imagine their secret is guessed, so they find reasons in whatever is said or done before them, to believe they are discovered ; and conscious guilt applies every thing to itself. If these difficulties are almost insuperable in conspiracies, whose only object is the death of a single person, what must they be in those formed against a great number ; which aim at the usurpation of a city or a whole state ; and which, on that account, require longer time to plan, and more hands to execute them ?

These considerations have always made me regard enterprises of this nature, as the most

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moral and instructive parts of history ; and have also induced me to communicate to the public a conspiracy which a Spanish ambassador at Venice formed, about fifty-six years ago, against that republic. I know not whether partiality for my subject misleads my judgment ; but I fairly acknowledge, that nothing, in my opinion, can afford a more perfect display of the effects of prudence, or of the power of chance, in the affairs of the world ; of the utmost extent and different limits of the human mind ; of its greatest elevation, and most secret weaknesses ; of the numberless considerations which must be attended to in governing mankind ; of the difference between true and false refinement, between address and cunning. And, if malice is never more hateful than where it abuses the most excellent things, the reader will certainly conceive the greatest detestation of it from this history, when he shall behold the most extraordinary endowments applied to the most execrable purposes. Thus, one of the Grecian sages of old, seeing a criminal in the midst of torture maintain, with amazing firmness, a falsehood, could not forbear crying out, ‘ Thou wretch, who debasest what is so noble in such an unworthy cause !’

The dispute between Paul V. and the republic of Venice having been terminated by the media-

mediation of France, consistently with the honour of the Holy See, and the glory of the Venetian arms, the Spaniards alone had reason to complain of this transaction. As they had declared in favour of the Pope, and offered to compel the Venetians to submission by arms, they were incensed at the treaty being concluded without their interposition. But, having discovered the secret of this agreement, they were sensible there was no cause to complain of the Pope, and that the indignity offered them proceeded entirely from the republic. The senate had, in some measure, refused to admit their mediation, under pretence, that their glaring partiality precluded them as arbiters. Their resentment for this affront did not appear during the life of Henry IV. The obligations of this prince to the Venetians were well known; nor was his sollicitude for their interest in this dispute with the court of Rome less apparent. But his death having unfettered the Spaniards, a pretence of quarrel was now all they desired.

The Uscoques, a band of pirates, had settled in the Austrian territories on the Adriatic Sea, which border with the Venetian state: Numberless depredations were committed by these banditti upon the subjects of the republic, under the protection of the Archduke Ferdinand de Grets, then Sovereign of that country, and afterwards
Emperor,

Emperor. This prince was indeed very religious ; but his ministers, who shared the booty with the Uscoques, and were devoted to the court of Spain, seized this opportunity of taking revenge of the Venetians. The justice of the complaints of the republic on this head, induced the Emperor Matthias to accommodate the difference at Vienna in February 1612. But this agreement was so ill observed by the Archduke, that an open war necessarily ensued, in which he was not so successful as the Spaniards expected. By prudent management, the Venetians easily repaired the losses sustained in a few skirmishes ; and, having nothing to apprehend from the Turks, they were more able than the Archduke to support the war. The Emperor, besides, urged Ferdinand to a peace, because the Grand Seignior menaced Hungary ; and he was obliged to save considerable sums to facilitate his election to the crown of Bohemia, which was soon after accomplished. The Spaniards would cheerfully have furnished the means of continuing the war ; but Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy, with whom they were embroiled at the same time, prevented a disjunction of their forces ; and, as he received large supplies of money from the republic, they could not disengage him from its interests. The council of Spain was highly incensed to find opposition from the
Venetians

Venetians on every side. The mild and pacific temper of Philip III. and of his favourite the Duke of Lerma, afforded them no prospect of getting free of the embarrassment. But their minister in Italy, who was not quite so moderate, undertook this business.

This minister was Don Alphonso de Cueva, Marquis de Bedmar, ambassador in ordinary at Venice, a person of the greatest genius, and of the most dangerous spirit Spain ever produced. His writings demonstrate, that he was master of every thing recorded in antient and modern history, which could form an extraordinary man. He compared past events with those of his own time; he marked, with precision, the similarity and dissimilarity of events, and how far the circumstances in which they differed affected those in which they agreed. He usually formed his opinion of the issue of any enterprise as soon as he knew of its plan and basis. If the event shewed that he was mistaken, he traced back his error to its source, and endeavoured to unfold the cause of his deception. By this application, he perceived what are the sure means, the proper expedients, and the chief circumstances which promise a fortunate conclusion in great undertakings, and what generally insure success. By such unremitting study, such reflection and observation on the affairs of life,

life, he had acquired a degree of sagacity, which gave his conjectures on the future the credit and influence, in the council of Spain, of prophecies. To this profound insight into the nature of important business were joined very uncommon talents for its management ; a facility of speaking and writing with inexpressible grace ; a wonderful intuitive discernment of men ; an air always gay and open, more expressive of fire than sedateness, and, apparently so remote from design, as to border almost upon simplicity. His temper, free and complaisant, was so much the more impenetrable, as every one thought they understood it. Of gentle, insinuating, and winning manners, he extracted the secrets of the most tenacious hearts ; and, under the severest agitations, possessed every appearance of the most perfect tranquillity of mind.

At this period, the Spanish ambassadors generally governed the courts to which they were sent ; and the Marquis de Bedmar had, in the year 1607, been chosen for Venice, as the most difficult foreign employment, in which no assistance could be obtained from women, friars, or favourites. He gave such entire satisfaction to the council of Spain, that, notwithstanding their demands for him elsewhere, they could not, after six years, think of his recall. So long residence

dence had afforded him opportunity of thoroughly studying the principles of that government, of unfolding its secret springs, of discovering its strength and weakness, its advantages and defects. Foreseeing that the Archduke must submit to a peace, which could not prove very honourable to Spain, whose conduct had been so injurious, he resolved to attempt something to prevent it. He concluded, that, in the present state of Venice, it was not impossible to become master of it, by means of his intelligences in the place, and of the forces he could procure. The troops of the republic had drained it of arms, but especially of men capable of bearing them. As the fleet had never before been so brilliant, the senate never thought itself so formidable, nor was ever more secure. This invincible fleet, however, could not leave the coast of Istria, the seat of war; the land-army was no less distant; and there was nothing at Venice to oppose the descent of a Spanish fleet. To render this descent effectual, the Marquis de Bedmar proposed seizing the principal ports, such as the Place of St Mark and the arsenal; and, as this would be difficult while the town was in perfect tranquillity, he judged it expedient to set on fire, at once, all the places which would most easily catch the flames, and whose great importance demanded the speediest relief.

Bedmar

Bedmar thought it improper to write immediately to Spain on this business. Princes, he knew, decline explanations on affairs of this nature, till brought to such maturity, that nothing is requisite for the execution, but an assurance of approbation in case of success. He only signified to the Duke d'Uffeda, principal secretary of state, that, sensible how much the house of Austria had been affronted in the war of Friouli, by the insolent behaviour of the Venetians, and that all the methods of accommodation hitherto attempted at Vienna, and elsewhere, were dishonourable, he considered himself as in a situation wherein nature and policy oblige a good subject to employ extraordinary means for rescuing his prince and country from infamy, otherwise inevitable; that this duty peculiarly belonged to him, by reason of his employment, which, presenting continually the evils to be redressed, enabled him better than any other to judge of the remedy to be applied; and that he would endeavour to acquit himself of the task suitable to the zeal he bore for his master's grandeur.

The Duke d'Uffeda, who knew him perfectly, immediately concluded, that this language covered some project equally important and dangerous. But, as prudent men appear as long as possible ignorant of such matters, he did not communicate

communicate his conjecture to the first minister, and answered the Marquis de Bedmar in general terms, approving of his zeal, and leaving the rest to his usual discretion. The Marquis, who expected no other, was not surprised at so cool a reply, and was now only solicitous how to contrive his design in such a manner that it might be avowed.

Never was there in the world a monarchy so despotic as the authority exercised by the senate of Venice over that republic. The difference made, even in the smallest matters, between the Nobles and Plebeians, is incredible. None but the nobles can command in the dependent states. The greatest Lords and first magistrates of these countries, instead of living with them as with governours, are subjected to all the haughtiness of arbitrary sovereigns ; and, if the republic ever bestows some of the first posts in her armies on strangers, they must oblige themselves to follow implicitly the opinion of the Venetian Generalissimo, and, in reality, have no more than the power of execution. As war is the most plausible pretence for burdening the people, that of the Uscoques afforded the nobles, who had the sole direction of it, an excellent opportunity of enriching themselves. It was enormously expensive. Besides the money sent to Piedmont, it was at length necessary to keep almost a third

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army in Lombardy, to watch the Governour of Milan, who perpetually threatened a diversion in favour of the Archduke. Emboldened by the justice of the cause of the republic, the commanders invented new oppressions, but could not dispose the people more readily to submit to them. These oppressions increased to such a degree, that the Marquis de Bedmar might rest assured the revolution he projected would be as acceptable to those of inferior rank, as fatal to the nobility. Even of the nobility, not a few were disaffected to government. These were the partizans of Rome. One set of whom, the most numerous, ambitious, and vindictive, were incensed, because the republic had not listened to their counsels during the contest with that court. Disposed, therefore, either to execute or endure whatever could overturn the ruling power, they rejoiced in the misfortunes of the state, as the effects of measures which they had disapproved. Some other weak and ignorant creatures were inclined to be more catholic than the Pope himself. As he had abated of his pretensions in the accommodation, they deemed this the result of policy; and, as if mental reservation could have taken place in that affair, they feared the excommunication still virtually subsisted in the breast of his Holiness. Of this number were several senators, as low in their fortunes

fortunes as in their minds, who became very serviceable to the Marquis de Bedmar, when he had once convinced them, by doing them favours, that now it was impossible to be a Venetian with a safe conscience.

Notwithstanding the severest interdicts had prohibited the nobles from intercourse with strangers, he found means to establish a strict correspondence with the necessitous and the malecontents. If they had any near relation in the monasteries, a mistress, or confidential ecclesiastic, he purchased the acquaintance of these necessary people on any terms, and made them valuable presents, though generally only curiosities from foreign countries. These spontaneous liberalities made the receivers conclude, that more considerable ones might be drawn from the Marquis. In this view, they furnished him with intelligence concerning every particular he desired to know. Wherein they were ignorant, they sedulously informed themselves, in order that they might be able to answer his inquiries; and his gratitude surpassing their expectations, they were impatient till they had engaged their patrons in this commerce. We must doubtless impute this conduct to necessity, and suppose, that these nobles could not behold, without envy, their dependents becoming richer than themselves by presents bestowed merely on their account.

count. Whatever was the cause, there was henceforth no deliberation in the senate concealed from the Spanish ambassador. He was advertised of all its resolutions ; and the generals of the Archduke knew those relative to the war, before the generals of the republic had orders to execute them.

To succeed in his enterprize, beside this intelligence, the ambassador had occasion for a considerable military force. But, as there was a powerful Spanish army in Lombardy, he was not apprehensive of the want of men, providing there had been a governour at Milan capable of entering into his views. The Marquis d'Inojosa, then in that office, was in too close habits with the Duke of Savoy to second them. He had lately signed the treaty of Ast, wherein France and Venice had acted as mediators. Knowing that this negociation would be disapproved in Spain, the ambassador wrote thither to have him recalled, and, at the same time, intreated Don Pedro de Toledo, Marquis of Villa Franca, his intimate friend, to solicit the government of Milan.

About the end of the year 1615, Don Pedro received orders of immediate departure, to supply the place of Inojosa ; and his arrival at Milan was directly announced at Venice by the Marquis de Lara. The ambassador imparted
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his project to this Marquis, in the manner he thought would render it most acceptable ; but he chiefly required information, whether the new governour could spare 1500 of his best troops, when he should have occasion for them. Charmed with the greatness of the enterprize, Don Pedro resolved to support Bedmar to the utmost of his power, so as not to expose himself to inevitable ruin, in case of miscarriage. He again despatched the Marquis de Lara to Venice, with assurance of aid to the ambassador ; but praying him, at the same time, to consider, that it was impracticable to send the men, unless they were carefully picked ; and that, if they were lost, he should be inexcusable for having exposed the bravest of his soldiers to such imminent danger ; that he would, however, give him as many as possible, and choose them so judiciously, that he could answer for them as for himself.

Nothing was of so great moment to the ambassador's design as to prevent every kind of accommodation. With this view, he obliged the Marquis de Lara to propose very inadequate terms of peace to the senate, from the governour of Milan. The senate, as he foresaw, answered them with indignation, and refused to treat, whilst Don Pedro, on his part, omitted nothing to exasperate and inflame. The Duke of Mantua, averse to pardon his rebellious subjects, according

cording to his engagements in the treaty of Ast, was now encouraged to continue obstinate, and to persist in the severities he had already begun against them. Proposals, which it was well known would be rejected, were also made to the Duke of Savoy, for the accomplishment of this treaty, while the Spaniards excused themselves from disarming, as he had done, and according to their engagements, under pretence of the war in Friouli, in which that nation could no longer, with honour, remain unconcerned. The Venetian army had already passed the Lirenzo, and besieged Gradefia, the capital of the Archduke's dominions. The council of Spain, hitherto apparently neutral, observing an attempt entirely to dispossess this prince, threatened to declare itself. About this time, the misunderstanding ceased, which had subsisted between the Spanish and German branches of the House of Austria, since the dispute between the son and brother of Charles V. for the succession of the empire. The concern which the Spaniards took in this war, was the first evidence of reconciliation. Don Pedro made Colonel Gambalotta, with some troops, approach Crema, and mounted twenty-four pieces of battering cannon at Pavia, which he pretended were soon to accompany 8000 men, under the command of Don Sancho de Luna. On the other side, the Viceroy of Naples, who

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was cruising in the Mediterranean with the Spanish fleet, threatened an attack on the Duke of Savoy at Villa Franca. He cut off all succours coming to the republic by sea, and was every day preparing to enter the Gulf, to overawe the Venetian fleet.

The Venetian ministers having complained loudly of these violent proceedings in all the different courts, the Marquis de Bedmar undertook their vindication. To undermine that veneration which Europe had for so many ages entertained for this republic, as the most antient and independent, would, he thought, be of the greatest service to his cause. This independency had lately been asserted and carried higher than ever, in several essays, occasioned by the dispute with the Pope, which, though opposed by able writers on the other side, had hitherto passed for unanswerable. The ambassador having reconsidered these, refuted, in a few chapters, the numerous volumes of the Venetian authors, without doing any one of them the honour of mentioning his name. As in affairs of this nature there is no point which a man of parts may not render problematical, under pretence of assisting the Emperor's right of sovereignty over Venice, he shewed, that the independence of this republic, as well as its empire on the sea, was a mere chimera. As it was no way subservient to his
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views to be known for the author of this libel, it was so artfully published, that his concern in it was not discovered during his lifetime. It appears strange that he was never suspected; but the Venetians, it would seem, were not perfectly acquainted with his character. A deportment lively and vehement, the only one, indeed, he openly showed, prevented even a conjecture that a man of so impetuous a temper could be the author of a state satire, composed with the most refined delicacy. Reason and candour seemed predominant through the whole; and the reflections interspersed against the attempts of the Venetians were couched in terms of such seeming moderation, as alone sufficed to render them plausible. This work, which was entitled, 'Squittinio della Liberta Veneta,' "An Inquiry into the Liberty of Venice," made much noise. In their ignorance of the author, and on account of former productions, their suspicion naturally fell on the court of Rome. The more learned senators thought this performance struck every one as forcibly as themselves; and they were more terrified for its effects, than they would have been by the loss of a battle. It was submitted to Father Paul's examination. This man, who had amused himself with other writers of the opposite party, declared, that this last performance ought not to be answered; because
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it was impracticable, without unfolding what was more prudently left involved in the darkness of antiquity. But that, if the senate should think the dignity of the republic concerned to resent this attack, he would engage to reduce the court of Rome to such difficulties in defending themselves, that they would no longer think of being aggressors. This proposal, adopted in the first transports of resentment, afforded Father Paul the pleasure of publishing his valuable History of the Council of Trent, which otherwise would not have appeared during his life.

The campaign of the year 1616 having, in the mean time, elapsed, without any considerable advantage on either side, the Duke of Savoy and the Venetians, unwilling to risk, in a second, the reputation they had already acquired, impowered Gritti, the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, to resume the negotiation. The Spaniards, enraged by the resistance they had experienced, made such unreasonable proposals, as proved fruitless. Gradisea remained in blockade; hostilities continued during winter; and the armies took the field in the spring, with an ardour presaging more important events than those of the preceding year. The truce in the Netherlands having rendered the greater part of the troops hired by the States unnecessary, and obliged the soldiers of fortune, both French and

L German,

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German, to seek employment elsewhere, the Counts of Nassau and Lievestein brought 8000 Hollanders and Walloons to the service of the republic. The Spaniards made loud complaints to the Pope, because the Venetians had exposed Italy to the infection of heresy, by intercourse with these soldiers. But the Venetian ambassador satisfied him, that the representations flowed not so much from concern for religion, as from vexation to behold two great republics united against them. The Marquis de Bedmar would have been greatly embarrassed, had the Pontiff obliged the Venetians to dismiss these heretics. For, as self-interest is generally the prevailing motive with soldiers in foreign service, he hoped to engage in his scheme the commanders of these mercenary troops, by means of some money, and the hopes of the plunder of Venice.

To manage this business, he pitched upon one Nicholas Renault, a man of knowledge and abilities, and who was a refugee at Venice, on some account which was never discovered. The Marquis had been long acquainted with him at the French ambassador's, where he lived. In some accidental conversations, Renault found Bedmar the able minister he was represented; whilst the latter, happy in having such a friend near the French ambassador, had formed a strict union with Renault. Though extremely poor,
Renault

Renault valued virtue more than riches ; but he preferred glory even to virtue ; and, when glory was unattainable by innocent means, he was capable of employing the most criminal. From the writings of antiquity, he had imbibed that unusual contempt of death, which is the groundwork of all extraordinary designs. He frequently regreted, that these glorious times were no more, when the merit of individuals decided the fate of states, and wherein its possessors were never destitute of the means or opportunities of distinguishing themselves. The Marquis de Bedmar, who had studied him thoroughly, and who had occasion for one whom he could entrust with the sole conduct of his enterprize, declared, on imparting it, that he had depended on him from the first moment it had occurred to his thoughts. No praise could have been bestowed on Renault so flattering as this assurance. An advanced age did not divert him from the undertaking. The shorter his natural life, the less he risked. A few remaining joyless years could never, he imagined, be better employed, than in hazarding them to immortalize his name.

The Marquis furnished Renault with bills of exchange and letters of credit for negotiating with the Dutch officers. He enjoined him not yet to unfold the design ; but only to suggest,
that,

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that, in the present exasperated state of affairs between the republic and the house of Austria, the Spanish ambassador at Venice foresaw a conjuncture, wherein his person might be exposed to the fury of the populace in that city; and that his safety required the securing a considerable number of faithful and resolute friends. The pretence was frivolous; but, in affairs of this kind, the thinnest veil is of great service. It is of no consequence, though some mystery be suspected, if not discovered. He thus hoped to debauch the flower of the Venetian land-army, which would so enfeeble the rest, that they must fall an easy prey to Don Pedro on their march, if called to Venice to oppose the conspirators. The sea-forces were much more formidable. They had been accustomed to victory, and could easily be recalled. The greater part of them were natural subjects of the republic; and, the moment that the conspiracy broke out, they would infallibly fly to Venice. To hope that the Spanish fleet would beat them, was relying on a great uncertainty; and it was the height of imprudence to hazard, on the event of a battle, the success of an enterprize otherwise so perilous. It was necessary, therefore, to devise some expedient to incapacitate the fleet for service. The ambassador, not so versant in maritime affairs as the Viceroy of Naples, who commanded the naval

val force of Spain, thought it necessary, therefore, to consult with him on this subject. This Viceroy, who was to perform a capital part in the tragedy which the ambassador now prepared, was the Duke d'Offuna, so famous for his gallantries, and no less enterprising than Don Pedro or the Marquis de Bedmar. By this resemblance of temper, an intimate union was established between these three ministers. Pedro and d'Offuna were not so great statesmen; and the latter was subjected to extravagancies that sometimes bordered on madness; but their deference for the Marquis supplied any defect of ability.

The profits arising from piracy, when powerfully protected, had brought to the court of Naples all the famous Corsairs in the Mediterranean. Of a genius fertile in extraordinary designs, profuse rather than sordid, the Viceroy did not support them so much with a view to share their booty, as to have always at hand a considerable number of men capable of any enterprize. Not content with barely receiving them, when he heard of any one of uncommon merit, he sought out, and loaded him with such favours, as infallibly attracted him to his court. Such had been his conduct towards Captain James Pierre, by birth a Norman, and so eminent in
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his profession, that all the rest gloried in having profited by his instructions. He was still untinged by the barbarity incidental to such a life. Having acquired a handsome fortune, he determined, though still in the prime of life, to retire, and chose the Duke of Savoy's dominions for his retreat. This prince, fond of extraordinary talents, more sensible of their value, as nature had been liberal of them to himself, and knowing by fame, that Pierre was one of the bravest men alive, allowed him to settle at Nice. All seafaring people, soldiers, officers, and sailors, who frequented that coast, paid duly their court to the Captain. His counsels were received as oracles. He was sovereign arbiter in all their differences. They venerated a man who had quitted a profession wherein he was so eminent, and which is the most difficult to relinquish. Of this number was Vincent Robert of Marseilles, who happening to land in Sicily during the Duke of Ossuna's viceroyalty, was treated with such respect, that he engaged in his service. The Duke understanding that Robert was a companion of the Captain, complained freely to him, that his friend had preferred, for his retreat, the states of the Duke of Savoy, to his government. These complaints were accompanied with extraordinary tokens of esteem for the Captain's courage and experience in maritime

ritime affairs; and concluded with assurances, that he would spare nothing to bring to his court a man of such singular merit. This negotiation was accepted by Robert with joy, and supported by such advances on the side of the Viceroy, as the Captain could not resist. He repaired with his wife and children to settle in Sicily. Not having totally renounced the sea, his attachment to it was not entirely conquered. Some fine galleons lately built by the Viceroy, and some Turkish caravels upon the way, with weak convoys, presented the Captain with an irresistible temptation. Nor had he reason to repent of his embracing this opportunity. He got incredible plunder, the greatest part of which the Duke d'Offuna, who lived with him as with a brother, allowed him to retain, on condition he would follow the Duke to Naples, where he was appointed governour; and that he would make a voyage to Provence, and endeavour to seduce all the best seamen of his acquaintance on that coast. The Captain brought from thence hands sufficient for arming five large vessels, the Viceroy's own property, and over which he had absolute command. With this little fleet, he plundered, with impunity, all the isles and coasts of the Levant; and finished his first campaign by a great engagement, wherein he either
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took or sunk a numerous squadron of Turkish gallies.

At this period the Marquis de Bedmar imparted his design to d'Offuna, persuaded that he could engage him without much difficulty. As the Duke affected the empire of those seas, he wished for nothing more ardently than to humble the Venetians, who alone could dispute it, and who were not such an easy conquest as the Turks. He explained his intention, and proposed his difficulties to the Captain; to whom they did not appear insuperable, and who, after some days private conference, left Naples abruptly in an equipage, which bespoke the utmost haste and consternation. The Viceroy caused pursue him by every road, except that he had taken, with orders to secure him dead or alive. His wife and children were thrown into prison, and, from that time, detained in a condition apparently very miserable. All his effects were confiscated; and the Duke's anger burst forth in such transport, as astonished all Naples, though long acquainted with his furious temper. As the Captain appeared no less enterprising than the Viceroy, their misunderstanding easily gained credit; and it was conjectured, that he had been contriving something against Spain, or against the Duke's interest, and his private views. In the mean time, he regained his first asylum.

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The Duke of Savoy was at open war with Spain, and was a Prince of distinguished generosity. Though he had testified some displeasure when the Captain left his territories, and removed to Sicily, yet the impostor did not now hesitate to throw himself at his feet. He related several fictitious plots of the Viceroy against the republic of Venice, horrible indeed even in idea, but having no connection with the true one. He declared, that, finding it impossible to be concerned in these with honour, he was concerting measures for his escape from Naples, with his family and effects, when he learned that the Viceroy had discovered his intention. To avoid, therefore, his fury, he was obliged to fly in that wretched condition ; leaving all that was dearest to him in life, in the power of the most cruel of mankind.

Melted with pity by this affecting recital, the Duke of Savoy received him with open arms. He told the Corsair, that, as his interest was inseparable from that of the republic, he would undertake to reward the Captain's services in the common cause, should the Venetians neglect to make him a suitable recompense. It was of the last importance, he added, that the senate should know from his own mouth the designs of the Duke d'Offuna. After exhorting the Captain to magnanimity under his sufferings, after thoroughly equipping, and conferring on

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him

him a magnificent present, the Duke despatched him to Venice with letters of credence and commendation. The Venetians were equally compassionate with the Duke of Savoy. The Captain's flight, his tears, his poverty and despair, his fame, and the hopes of his bringing over to their service the great number of brave men he had procured for the Duke d'Offuna, but especially his account of the Duke's designs, which he rendered sufficiently credible, all argued so powerfully in his behalf, that the command of a ship was immediately bestowed on him. In vain did Contarini, the Venetian ambassador at Rome, remonstrate by letters, that this man, because coming from the Viceroy, should always be distrusted. Credulity, the concomitant of fear, and which now predominated in the minds of the Venetians, defeated this prudent advice.

The fleet having soon after put to sea, the Captain, sensible of what importance it was to signalize himself, made such considerable captures from the Uscoques, in executing some orders he had obtained to pursue them, that, upon his return from his cruise, eleven ships were added to his command. He gave an account of his success to the Duke d'Offuna, and concluded his letter in this manner: ' If these *pantaloons* are always as easy of belief as hitherto, I can assure

“ assure your Excellency my time will not be lost
‘ in this country.’ He, at the same time, wrote
to all his companions at Naples, inviting them to
enter into the service of the republic ; nor was
it difficult for him to seduce them : For the Vice-
roy pretending, upon his escape, to suspect them
also, his treatment of them became now as
harsh, as it had formerly been generous. He
complained grievously of the protection afford-
ed the Captain by the republic. In revenge,
therefore, he sheltered the Uscoques who had
been driven from their holds by the Venetian
arms. Under his protection, they renewed their
depredations. They took a large vessel coming
from Corfeu to Venice, and publicly sold the
booty under his standard. He infringed the im-
munity of the ports ; made great reprisals for
small grievances ; notwithstanding orders from
Spain, obstinately refused to release his sei-
zures ; and published a manifesto, setting forth
the reasons of his disobedience. He sent a
powerful fleet into the Adriatic Sea, whose cap-
tures from the Venetians were brought into
Naples in triumph. In a word, he ruined their
commerce, at the expence even of the Neapoli-
tans concerned in it ; and, when the farmers of
the public revenue offered to complain, he
threatened to hang them. As war had not been
declared between Spain and the Republic, the
Venetians

Venetians were greatly astonished by a conduct so irregular ; and it was generally imputed to d'Offuna's extravagance. But the more discerning, aware how useful such madmen are when under judicious management, believed that the Spaniards availed themselves of the Duke's caprices, in pursuing measures which they could neither avow nor justify. His private conversation turned wholly upon surprising the ports of the republic in Istria ; upon plundering their islands ; and even of making a descent, if possible, upon Venice itself. He studied the plan of the city with his courtiers ; he caused exact maps be drawn of its environs ; and barks, brigantines, and other small vessels, be built, proper for all sorts of channels. Experiments were made of the weight which the several depths of water were capable of bearing, according to the different dimensions of vessels ; and he was every day inventing new machines, to lessen their burden, and facilitate their motion.

Of all those transactions, exact intelligence was given by the Venetian resident at Naples, to the great mortification of the Marquis de Bedmar, who now began to repent being concerned with such an extravagant man. But the success allayed his fears : For the Viceroy did all these things so publicly, that they only afforded laughter to the Venetians. Nay, the

the wisest did not believe that there could be any thing serious under such open transactions. The Duke continued his preparations as long as he thought proper, without exciting the least jealousy; and his indiscretion, which ought naturally to have defeated, served more to promote the enterprise, than all the circumspection of the Marquis de Bedmar. The Marquis, however, judged it necessary to hasten the execution, either not to allow the Venetians time to reflect, or else on account of the personal danger to which he was continually exposed. The Venetian fleet having offered battle to that of Spain, which declined it, and having pillaged the coasts of Pazzuolo, the populace of Venice broke out into such insolent joy, that the ambassador and his family would infallibly have been massacred, had not the guards been sent to their protection.

He was somewhat consoled, however, for this accident, by the news he received the same day from the camp before Gradisea. Renault acquainted him, that he had found the troops so well disposed, that his negotiation had been concluded directly. The ambassador ordered him, before his return, to visit Milan, where he was received by Don Pedro with all those caresses which the Great employ to cajole such as expose themselves to perdition in their service. They agreed, that it was requisite to seize, at the same time

time with Venice, some town belonging to the state on the Terra Firma, which would bridle the rest, would serve as a magazine to the Spanish army that was to attack them, and as a barrier against that of Venice, should it attempt their relief. Renault passed through the most considerable towns, and halted at Crema, to form a faction there, by the interest of John Bernard a French lieutenant, of an Italian captain, and of one Alfier of Provence, whom Pedro had already engaged. These three offered to conceal 500 Spaniards in the town, without creating the least suspicion to the Venetian commander; and engaged to take possession of it in eight days after. Having examined the scheme upon the spot, Renault pronounced it, with the assistance of this number of men, infallible. They had only to cut the throats of a pitiful garrison, drawn out of the country militia, all the republic's regular troops being either in the posts of Friouli, or in the armies.

D'Offuna had persuaded the Marquis de Bedmar, that one of the Venetian ports in the Gulf was necessary for the convenience both of the Uscoques and the Archduke, as well as to receive the Spanish fleet, if accidentally obliged to seek a retreat, when employed in that sea. In this view, they fixed upon Maran, a place of strength, in an island bordering upon Istria, with

a harbour capable of receiving a large fleet. Mazza, an Italian, who had been serjeant-major of it forty years, possessed almost equal authority with the governour. By a considerable sum of money, and an assurance of the command of the place, he promised to one of d'Offuna's emissaries to assassinate the governour upon the first orders, and, after seizing the town, to hold it in name of the Spaniards. To give and to execute this promise, were almost equally practicable ; for the governour, Proveditor Lorenzo Thespolo, lived with him in the greatest familiarity ; and, as his office of Proveditor often gave him employment on the frontiers in time of war, he entirely committed the government of the town to the serjeant-major, as the oldest and most capable officer in the garrison.

Affairs being now in this situation, the ambassador judged it expedient to put the finishing hand to his work. More time might, indeed, have added to the measures already taken ; but delays, he well knew, are mortal to designs of this nature. It is impossible to bring all the different means conducive to final success to bear at the same time. The first change their aspect, while the rest are advancing to maturity ; and, when once a man has been fortunate enough to combine a sufficient number of them, it is a capital

pital error to let slip the decisive moment of so important a conjuncture.

The honour of the crown of Spain required, as a matter of the last moment, that it should be impossible, in case of a miscarriage, to convict its ambassador of being engaged in this enterprise. He resolved, therefore, not to discover himself to any of the conspirators, except Renault and the Captain. Even these two men were unacquainted. They never waited upon him but by his appointment ; and, to prevent their meeting, he always fixed different times for their attendance ; for, should a discovery happen, it would be of great consequence to him that they were quite unconnected. From this fear, he ardently wished that they might still continue to act their parts separately, and without knowing one another. But mature reflection convinced him, that this was impossible. Despairing, therefore, of the success of his scheme, without a perfect union between them, he resolved, however disagreeable the step was, to get over this difficulty.

Though both were men of bravery and conduct, Renault chiefly valued himself upon concerting affairs so happily, that the execution should be easy, and the success certain. The Captain, on the other hand, who was much younger, valued himself most on his vigorous execution, and extraordinary boldness. The
Marquis

Marquis informed the latter of the several negotiations which Renault had transacted; of his sagacity and fertility in expedients on all emergencies; of his eloquence, and address to gain new partizans; of his talent for writing, so necessary when there was continual occasion for advices of the state of the fleets, the provinces, and the armies. He therefore thought, that such a friend would afford Pierre great comfort: That Renault was an old man of much experience, deficient neither in heart nor steadiness; but that his age and genius, fitted rather for the cabinet than the field, rendered him incapable of sharing with the Captain the glory of the execution. To Renault, Bedmar only observed, that the Captain was the creature of the Duke d'Ossuna; and that, as the Duke had a principal concern in their design, nothing could be concealed from his confident. He conjured him to condescend to the manners of the pirate, as far as should be requisite for their purpose, and to shew him all the deference necessary to conciliate the affections of a man of execution, but who was to the last degree arrogant and haughty.

Having thus exerted himself to predispose these men to a good understanding, Bedmar was inexpressibly confounded, when, at their first meeting in his house, they embraced, the

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moment

moment they saw each other, with great tenderness. Such strength of mind rarely occurs, as not instantly to form a false judgment upon what occasions extreme surprise. The ambassador immediately concluded that he was betrayed. As he had always imagined that they were perfect strangers to each other, he could not conceive why they had concealed from him their acquaintance. This mystery, however, was soon unravelled. He learned, that they had met at the house of a famous Greek Lady, who, for a courtesan, possessed uncommon merit. Of this no inconsiderable proof arose from the present adventure, wherein she had preserved inviolable the secret they had enjoined, of their respective names ; and this fidelity was the more extraordinary, as she was not ignorant of their high and reciprocal esteem.

The ambassador, now recovered from his surprise, was perfectly happy to find already established, that union which he so ardently desired. In the course of the conversation, they acknowledged their mutual designs of engaging each other in this enterprize. As they were quite full of their project, it had happened in their meetings at the courtesan's, that subjects of this nature had been sometimes started, when conversing of the affairs of the times, of the state, and of the war : But this had happened without making

king any discovery ; and still more, without any such design. They frankly owned, however, before the ambassador, that they had sometimes been carried a little too far in the heat of argument ; and that they had been too open in their sentiments. The ambassador entreated them to profit by this reflection ; to be more guarded for the future ; and to learn from this experience, that, to keep an affair of moment a profound secret, it is not sufficient to abstain merely from doing or saying any thing relative to it, but one must forget that he knows it.

Renault then informed them, that, since the reports of peace were renewed about the end of June, the foreign troops had been ill treated by the Venetian officers ; and that these troops, no longer restrained by the authority of Count Nassau, who died about this time, had behaved improperly before Gradisca : That the General of the republic, affraid of still worse consequences, had separated and assigned them different stations, and the most distant he could find ; by which precaution, the distrust of their fidelity having become public, they had mutinied ; and, having refused, with insolence, to execute some orders of the senate, the General had thought it his duty to punish capitally some of the most seditious : That he had confined their leaders at Padua, and distributed the rest in different
places

places of Lombardy, till they could be paid off, and the execution of the treaties permitted their dismissal. He further added, that Count Nassau's lieutenant, with whom he had negotiated, was banished to Brescia, where he had formed a plot, by which he was ready to put that town into the hands of Don Pedro; and that, previous to every other thing, it was necessary to come to a resolution on that particular design, because the Lieutenant was urgent in his letters for a decisive answer. The ambassador replied, that they could not move in that quarter till they were masters of Venice; and that, even then, a single place in Lombardy would suffice; that they were already assured of Crema, and that this new enterprize would only divide their forces: That they should, however, encourage the good dispositions of their new friends; but the execution must be delayed from time to time, under various pretences; and, rather than expose themselves by the least explanation, that they must entirely relinquish this project. Renault resumed, that, beside the Lieutenant, he had treated with three French gentlemen, whose names were Durand, serjeant-major of Lieveistein, de Brinville, and de Brille, with de Ternon, a Savoyard, who had been at the storming of Geneva, with one Theodore,

dore, a Dutchman, Robert Revillido, an Italian engineer, and two other Italians, who had formerly been employed in the arsenal, named Lewis Villamezzana, a Captain of light horse, and William Retrofi, Lieutenant to Captain Honorat in Palma : That he had judged it necessary to open himself to these nine persons ; but, in the manner he had chosen them, he would answer with his life for their fidelity : That, during his stay in the camp, he had already secured above 200 officers ; to whom he had only signified, according to the ambassador's direction, that they were to repair to Venice, when necessary, to rescue his Excellency from the populace of that city : That, since his return, having written to know exactly the number of men he could depend on, and having enjoined them to report nothing but what was absolutely certain, they had informed him, that he might reckon on at least 2000 of the troops of Lieveinstein, and on 2300 of those of Nassau ; and that all the officers were ready to surrender themselves as security for this promise. In the beginning of this negotiation, they had flattered their soldiers with the prospect of being led upon some expedition, which would amply compensate the miseries they had suffered ; and there was no reason to think that they would be staggered by the singularity of the enterprize, should
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an explanation become necessary. By the ignominious treatment they had received, they were so exasperated against the senate, that, setting aside every other reason, he would promise that there was no attempt to which their revenge was not proportioned : That, nevertheless, for the greater security, a discovery of the secret, if intelligible, need not be made till matters were so adjusted and mature, that success was certain ; and that, whilst in the present resolution of giving them the plunder of Venice, not one of them would hesitate to enrich himself, in a way so sure and expeditious, with a view to pass the rest of his days in opulence.

The Marquis de Bedmar had determined, from the first moment the idea had occurred to him, not to embark in this affair, till possessed of many more means than were necessary for its accomplishment ; and to have these so independent of each other, that the failure of one should no way impede the success of the rest. For this reason, he had taken care to fix measures with the Duke d'Offuna for obtaining troops ; though he firmly relied on what Don Pedro had promised, and upon those for whom Renault had agreed with the Dutch officers. In each of these different quarters, he had negotiated with the same precaution, as if quite uncertain of the other two ; or, as if they had been requisite for three different

different undertakings. It was now time to know exactly when the Duke d'Offuna could send to Venice the men required of him. But, being too desultory in his schemes to be implicitly trusted in a matter so important and difficult, it was necessary to send some person capable of judging upon the spot, how far he was able to fulfill his promises. It was impossible for the Captain to leave Venice without being observed. Renault's presence was indispensibly necessary. They cast their eyes, therefore, on de Brilie, one of the French gentlemen whom Renault had engaged in Friouli to go upon this expedition. But, having received, while preparing for his departure, a commission from the republic to raise soldiers, it was thought more advisable that he should proceed in making his levies; and Laurence Nolt of France Compté, a companion of the Captain's, was, on the first day of the year 1618, despatched in his room.

The Marquis thought it was now time likewise to mention his project to the council of Spain. To anticipate the explanations which might be required, he transmitted as full and circumstantial a detail of his scheme as possible. Knowing the tardy deliberations of that court, he peremptorily demanded, in a private letter to the Duke of Lerma, an immediate and direct answer. The danger of his situation entitled him,

him, he thought, to speak in this absolute tone ; and he declared, that, if his express was detained beyond eight days, he would consider this delay as an order totally to abandon the design. Within the time limited, he received an answer ; but not altogether so decisive as he wished. He was allowed to proceed, if any material disadvantage arose from delay. But, were it practicable, a minute and faithful account of the state of the republic was previously and ardently desired.

Fully prepared on this subject, the Marquis soon drew up so beautiful a memorial, that the Spaniards have stiled it the master-piece of their politics. Its object is not easily discernible ; and yet they who understand it find nothing foreign to the scheme on hand. An elegant complaint of the difficulty of the undertaking, because of the impenetrable secrecy of the government he is to delineate, forms his exordium. Then follows a panegyric on this government, but applicable rather to the former, than the present state of the republic. From these encomiums, a transition is made to a common place, equally plaintive and eloquent, on the deplorable condition of human affairs, which are liable to corruption in proportion to their excellence : That thus the wisest laws of this state, by their abuse, have been the original sources of its present disorder :

order : That the law, excluding the people from the knowledge of public affairs, has occasioned the tyranny of the nobles ; whilst that subjecting the ecclesiastical power to the censure of the supreme magistrate, has, in consequence of their quarrel with the court of Rome, excited the licentiousness of the Venetian populace. To aggravate this licentiousness, he mentions the impieties which the Dutch were said to have committed with impunity in Friouli. He exclaims particularly against their having buried Renaud de Brederode, a nobleman of their own country, in the church of the Servites at Venice, notwithstanding he was a Calvinist ; and, without naming him, he severely accuses Father Paul on this point, as having inspired the senate with such boldness. He wonders how the people, no longer restrained in their civil obedience by religion, which is openly violated in so many ways, can bear the horrible oppressions with which they are loaded. He specifies these oppressions, and, without exaggerating, represents them as unsupportable. He then demonstrates, that the honour and lives of the people are no less at the mercy of the nobles, than their fortunes ; and that, when the genius of the nation is so much inclined to avarice, revenge, and gallantry, it is no wonder that the subjects under such a government should be enslaved by their rulers. In a

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word, he examines the state of the senate, of the provinces, and of the armies. He points out the divisions in the senate, and hesitates not to assert, that he knows many nobles were discontented. He describes some of the provinces as desolated by the war of the Uscoques, whilst others are impoverished by supporting the rest. He affirms, that there are not three officers paid in each garrison in Lombardy, and that the republic's authority subsists there only because no usurpation is attempted. On the subject of the armies, he gives a faithful account of the insurrections amongst the land forces, and of the dispersion of the mutineers, in such numbers, that those who remained could be regarded only as a motely crowd of wretched militia, destitute of courage, experience, or discipline: That, with respect to the navy, it was now become the receptacle of all the most infamous corsairs in the Mediterranean; a crew unworthy of the name of soldiers, and on whom the republic can no longer rely, than whilst they are unable to turn her own arms against herself. After delineating these points with wonderful beauty of language, and power of expression, he inquires, what judgment ought to be formed of the future state of this republic, of her destiny and duration; and he demonstrates, by necessary consequences from the facts already established, that she is in her decline;

decline ; that her disorders are of such a nature, as they cannot be brought to a favourable crisis, nor her present constitution be amended, but by entirely altering the form of government.

After perusal of this representation, the council of Spain, without authorising, left the Marquis de Bedmar at liberty to act as he saw proper. But, as Nolot had not yet returned, the whole was retarded, and the ambassador was inconsolable for the blunder he had committed, of exposing himself to d'Offuna's caprice, with which he had been long acquainted. In the present conjuncture, a delay was fatal. After the Spaniards took Verceli, Gradisea was reduced to such extremity by the Venetians, that the council of Spain found it impracticable to save it, but by renewing the overtures of peace. A plan of the principal articles was agreed upon and prepared at Madrid ; but d'Offuna's perpetual irregularities obliged the Venetians to recal their ambassador's powers, that the negociation might be transferred to France, where the Marshal d'Ancre's death promised them more hopes of favour. The peace was concluded at Paris September 6. and the Governour of Milan had a conference some time after, at Pavia, with the Count de Bethune, in order to regulate the execution of what respected the Duke of Savoy. But, in the mean time, the Governour continued
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to disturb the Venetians, and even took from them some small places in Lombardy. They complained every where of this treatment, and were preparing for war with greater vigour than ever, till the Marquis de Bedmar paid his compliments on the peace in full senate, and engaged for the performance of the articles stipulated. This step was not so much the result of orders from Spain, as of a design to obliterate the senate's bad impressions of his past conduct. Assuming, therefore, on this occasion, every appearance of joy and friendship, by his professions he so far blinded the Venetians, who too eagerly desired what he promised, that they agreed to a suspension of arms. This suspension was a decisive advantage for the Spaniards, and a master stroke of their ambassador. Gradisea was so straitened, that it could not have held out fifteen days longer. But hostilities were not to cease for two months; because this time was reckoned necessary to obtain the mutual ratification, and to prepare the treaties for execution. It was necessary, therefore, to prevent the surrender of this place before the expiry of that period. The suspension having removed this danger, and the Spaniards having no further inducements to accelerate the accomplishment of the treaties, could now protract the time as long as suited their views. In short, compelled at length
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by orders from Madrid, and the importunity of the Pope, the Duke d'Offuna offered soon after to restore the ships he had taken, but pretended total ignorance with respect to the merchandize. These goods, however, were at public sale in Naples, under the eyes of the Venetian resident; and the Viceroy sent out another powerful fleet to cruise in the Adriatic Sea. When the senate remonstrated on this subject to the ambassador, he complained still louder. He declared that he could not be responsible for the Duke d'Offuna's proceedings, nor could even the King, his master. But, amidst the innumerable civilities and favours he had received during his embassy at Venice, the only circumstance that hurt him, was to learn, that the Viceroy's behaviour, to which he was no way accessory, was ascribed to his counsels; whereas the slightest knowledge of the Duke would evince, that his own caprice was the sole guide of his actions. A judgment, he urged, might easily be formed of his dispositions, by the pacific conduct of the governour of Milan, *whereof he boasted himself the adviser*. The Governour, it is true, scrupulously observed the suspension, but still continued in arms. That this might not appear strange, he embroiled himself anew with the Duke of Savoy. Under pretence that the troops discharged by that Prince had halted in the country of Vaux, waiting for
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the final execution of the treaties, Don Pedro refused to the Count de Bethune to disarm, according to his engagements at Pavia ; and he likewise prevailed with the Duke of Mantua to refuse fulfilling his part. When the Count de Bethune withdrew on this refusal, he protested against them in a public manifesto, which was answered by the Marquis de Bedmar's utmost ingenuity. These circumstances show of what importance it was to hasten the execution of the enterprize, when it was so difficult to keep affairs in a situation which could promise success.

During all this time the Duke d'Offuna having detained Nolot ; and the ambassador, extremely perplexed, having demanded, at whatever hazard, an explanation of this delay, was at last informed whence it proceeded.

Some time after the Captain's reception into the service of the republic, the Duke's curiosity to know, by different channels, the state of Venice, despatched after him Alexander Spinosa, an Italian, to observe all that passed. Though a stranger, yet, like the other adventurers who offered their service, Spinosa soon found employment. He readily conjectured that the Duke was scheming some important plot ; but little suspected that the pirate was its manager. He greatly distrusted, however, their being on such bad terms as was generally believed ; and, after his
arrival

arrival at Venice, he offered to the Viceroy to poignard the Captain. But this proposal was rejected, under pretence of the danger attending it. Spinosa, who was a man of penetration, and who knew the Viceroy, concluded, that, if there subsisted no stronger reason for this refusal, he would scarcely hesitate to satisfy his revenge, at the expence of a man's life. The Duke, however, enjoined a strict observance of the pirate's conduct, either to prevent suspicions of the truth, or, because of so jealous a temper, that he never implicitly confided in any man; and was desirous to see how far Spinosa's accounts should agree with the Captain's own accounts of himself. To execute his commission more effectually, Spinosa associated with some French gentlemen, whom he had formerly known at Naples, and who were the Captain's intimate companions at Venice. These persons, who were also conspirators, informed the Captain of Spinosa's scrutiny into his behaviour. They discovered that he was carrying on some scheme himself, and engaging men of prowess for the Duke d'Osuna's service. The Captain was highly incensed, though not surpris'd, that the Duke should not have reposed in him an absolute confidence. What chiefly struck him, was, that, if Spinosa continued his intrigues without their being in concert, he would, by dividing, weaken

weaken their party; whilst it was impossible to declare himself to a man who was placed as a spy over his conduct. The Marquis de Bedmar and Renault were also of opinion, that no time should be lost in removing this difficulty. But, after the most mature deliberation on the means of effecting it, nothing else could be devised consistent with their own safety, than Spinosa's destruction. But, if any attempt should be made upon his person, he would sell his life at the dearest rate; and his employment required, that he should be always on his guard. After trying, therefore, in vain, all other means of cutting him off, the Captain was at last obliged to accuse him before the council of ten as a spy from the Duke d'Offuna. The Frenchmen, with whom he had tampered, gave such judicious and circumstantiate depositions, that he was the same day seized, and privately strangled. Whatever he could alledge against the pirate had no effect upon his judges, because a recrimination of his accuser, and unsupported by any evidence.

While this affair very much strengthened the confidence of the Venetians in the Captain, it gave great disquietude to the Marquis de Bedmar. It loudly admonished the senate to keep a jealous eye over strangers in their service.

When



When Nolot arrived at Naples, d'Offuna had just received the accounts of Spinosa's death; a blow, whereof he easily guessed the author. His chagrin, on this account, was greatly heightened by the ambassador's passing over the affair in silence; and the various suspicions which this accident created in his mind, left him in a state of perfect irresolution. The troops of Lievestein having, in the mean time, mutinied anew, were brought, by order of the senate, about the beginning of February, to the Lazaretto, within two miles of Venice. Afraid of an agreement between them and the republic, with respect to their pay, and consequently of their departure, the Marquis de Bedmar so managed the affair, by means of their leaders, that they should be dissatisfied with the sum first offered them. The conspirators, in order to avail themselves of the vicinity of these troops, so favourable to their views, strictly charged Nolot, by an express, to acquaint the Viceroy, that, during all the month, 5000 men would be ready at their command. Nolot strenuously performed this duty. But the Viceroy, whose choler had not yet subsided, amused him so long, that, after six weeks expectation, the officers, afraid lest the soldiers, who suffered extremely, should treat for themselves, came to an accommodation, with consent

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of the conspirators, who were conscious it was irremediable.

In ten days after, Nolot arrived from Naples with d'Offuna's determination, agreeable to their wishes, but addressed to Robert Brulard, one of the Captain's companions. Intent chiefly upon extricating themselves from this business, the ambassador and Captain totally disregarded the affront of the Viceroy's address. He informed them, that he was ready on a call, to send as many barks, brigantines, and other small vessels, fit for the ports and canals of Venice, as would carry 6000 men, if necessary. Nolot had seen the troops and vessels ready to set out, and the Captain caused sound the ports and canals through which they must pass, in order to disembark at the place of St Mark. By his office, having under his direction a great number of seamen, who could go and return unsuspected and at pleasure, through their ports and canals, he could easily ascertain their depths with precision. Nothing now remained but to retard the departure of the troops of Lievestein. No money was spared for this end ; whilst the severity of the season afforded a pretence for the delay. The greater part of them was still at the Lazaretto ; and those who were embarked when Nolot arrived, stopped at places not much more distant.

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To divide those cares which lay so heavy upon Renault and the Captain, and which were more than they could bear, it was judged necessary to have, at least, eighteen persons of judgment and bravery, in whom they could absolutely confide. This number they had now completed, including the nine with whom Renault had negotiated in Friouli, and from amongst the chief of those whom the pirate had brought after him from Naples. Five of them, like Pierre himself, were captains of ships; namely, Vincent Robert of Marseilles, Laurence Nolot, and Robert Brulard, who have been already mentioned; the two last of Franc Compté; with another Brulard named Laurence, and another Provençal called Anthony Jaffier. Besides these, were two brothers from Lorrain, Charles and John Boileaus, and John Rizzardo an Italian, all three excellent Petardiers; with a Frenchman named l'Anglade, esteemed the most ingenious conductor of Fire-works ever known. His abilities were so famed, that he received instant employment in the arsenal. By this means his companions, the Petardiers, had free access there; as had also Villamezzana and Retrofi, who had been engaged by Renault, and had formerly wrought in the same place.

So exact a plan of the arsenal was taken by these six persons, that the most perfect stranger could

could deliberate upon it, with as much certainty as the artists themselves. They were much aided in this business by two officers of the arsenal, whom the Captain had seduced. These gentlemen appeared to him chagrined with their appointment, possessed of abilities adapted to his views, disposed to enter into these views, if for their interest, and capable of an inviolable faith to their engagements. The event justified this opinion. He always so heightened the relish of the praises he conferred on them, by the addition of a number of Spanish pistoles, which were at his disposal, that they vowed the most implicit obedience to his commands. L'Anglade and they lived in the arsenal. Renault had carried with him to the house of the French ambassador three of his friends, Brilie, Brainville, and Laurence Brulard. The three Petardiers lived at the Marquis de Bedmar's, who furnished them with powder, the other materials and the instruments necessary for their business; but without any intercourse with them. They had already made more petards and fire-works than was necessary; and the ambassador's palace was so full, that there remained no room for any beside themselves. The Captain lived in his usual habitation, but alone, to prevent suspicion in case of observation. The rest he lodged at the

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courtezan's, where he and Renault first became acquainted.

The esteem and friendship which had succeeded their love for this woman, but above all their knowledge of her history, convinced them that they could not make a better choice. She was a native of a Greek island in the Archipelago, and of the highest nobility that can exist in a country dependent on Venice, without being a Venetian. The republic's governour in this place having debauched her under the highest promises, had afterwards caused assassinate her father, because he insisted that the Venetian should fulfill his engagements. The daughter came to Venice, demanding justice for this murder; but in vain. Having spent her small fortune in this prosecution, her beauty repaired the misery it had occasioned. No resentment is so strong as that of a woman of good birth reduced to follow an unworthy profession. She heard, with rapture, the project of her two friends, and cheerfully risked every thing in its favour. She hired one of the largest houses in Venice; and, under colour of making some accommodations in it, part of her furniture was only brought thither, that a pretence might still remain for keeping her former house, which was in the neighbourhood. In these two houses, eleven of the principal conspirators were concealed near

six

fix months. As she was visited by all people of fashion, both strangers and Venetians, and as this resort of company might discover her guests, to get rid of it, she feigned herself indisposed. Whoever knows with what complaisance women of this class are treated in Italy, will easily comprehend how her house became perfectly inaccessible to all with whom she had no transactions. The conspirators went abroad only by night; and, that it might be reserved entirely for action, their meetings were held in the day-time. In these meetings, Renault and the Captain proposed what had been agreed upon with the Marquis de Bedmar, for the purpose of obtaining the advice of the company, and forming some joint plan with respect to the means of execution. When they had occasion to repair to the Marquis, it was done with all the circumspection necessary in a country, and at a time, when the houses of ambassadors, and that of Bedmar in particular, were narrowly observed, as those of so many enemies. They had long agreed, that it was necessary to have 1000 soldiers in Venice before they entered upon action. But, as it was hazardous to introduce them armed, the Marquis de Bedmar had provided arms for above 500. This was easily effected with secrecy, as the Gondolas of ambassadors, coming from whatever quarter, are never searched. An opportunity

nity of privately introducing these 1000 men into Venice, was now all that was wanted.

The Doge Donato dying, Anthony Priuli, then employed in Friouli on the execution of the treaties, was elected in his room. The Admiral was ordered to sail in quest of him with the fleet. The grand chancellor and secretaries of state were to meet him at a great distance, carrying the ducal cap. Immediately after these, twelve of the principal senators were to follow, as ambassadors from the republic; each by himself, in an armed brigantine, magnificently adorned, and attended with a splendid retinue. The senate itself were, lastly, to meet him in a barge, a considerable way out at sea, on board the Bucentaur, and conduct him, with all this pomp, into the city. As it rarely happens that the Doge-elect is out of Venice, this solemnity drew thither a prodigious concourse of people, out of curiosity. The Marquis de Bedmar, who foretaw this, the moment he was assured of Priuli's election, despatched Nolot a second time to Naples, to cause the Duke d'Offuna's brigantines set out before his own eyes, and with the utmost expedition. To obviate every pretence of delay, the Captain was enjoined to send the Duke as exact a plan as possible of the manner of execution, and especially, to give him an account of what had passed at Venice during Nolot's

lot's first journey. The pirate, determined, at any rate, to conciliate the Viceroy's affections, improved upon this precaution ; and, to convince the Duke that no ground of suspicion was harboured against him, concludes his letter with these words : ' I ascribe to Nolot's remissness ' his long stay at Naples ; for I am persuaded, ' had he faithfully represented matters, your Excellency would have despatched him immediately. He must certainly, contrary to his express orders, have asked money, or something ' of that nature. I undertake, however, still to ' keep Venice six months in my power, if necessary, in expectation of your Excellency's great ' fleet, provided you send me the brigantines and ' 6000 men you were pleased to offer, instantly ' upon Nolot's arrival.' This letter bears date April 7. the day of Nolot's departure.

Renault, in the mean time, brought to Venice the officers of the troops who had been seduced, that they might become acquainted with the city, and observe the posts, so as not to wander on the night of execution. Previous to their setting out, they picked 1000 men out from the Dutch troops, to be ready to march on the first notice. And, that their absence might be less striking, they drew them equally out of all the places belonging to the state on the Terra Firma, where they had been dispersed. To accommodate

moderate this crowd, each of the officers hired as many lodgings as possible, without creating suspicion, and told the landlords, that they were intended for strangers, who came to see the festival. The officers themselves lodged in the houses of the courtesan, where, paying handsomely, they were in greatest safety. Nothing now remained but to regulate the plan of execution, which the Marquis de Bedmar, Renault, and the Captain, settled in the following order :

‘ Whenever night comes on, such of the 1000
‘ soldiers who shall come unarmed, shall go and
‘ receive arms at the ambassador’s house. Five
‘ hundred, under the Captain, shall repair to the
‘ place of St Mark. The greater part of the o-
‘ ther five hundred shall join Renault near the
‘ Arsenal; and the rest shall seize upon all
‘ the barks, gondolas, and such other vessels as
‘ they find at the Rialto bridge, which they shall
‘ carry with the utmost expedition, to bring
‘ 1000 of the troops of Lievestein, who are still
‘ at the Lazaretto. During this excursion, the
‘ greatest quietness must be observed in the city,
‘ to prevent any declaration before the arrival of
‘ these troops. Should they, however, by any
‘ accidental discovery, be forced to a declaration,
‘ the Captain must fortify himself in the place of
‘ St Mark, and Renault seize upon the Arsenal,
‘ in the manner to be hereafter described, when

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‘ two pieces of artillery shall be fired off, as a
 ‘ signal for the Duke d’Offuna’s brigantines,
 ‘ which shall be ready to enter Venice ; and the
 ‘ Spaniards who come in them will supply the
 ‘ place of the Walloons sent for. If no declara-
 ‘ tion becomes necessary during the excursion
 ‘ for the Walloons, upon their landing at St
 ‘ Mark, the Captain shall take 500 of them,
 ‘ whom, with the 500 he already has, shall be
 ‘ put under the command of serjeant-major Du-
 ‘ rand. They are to begin with drawing up
 ‘ these 1000 men in order of battle in the Place.
 ‘ The Captain, with 200 men, is then to make
 ‘ himself master of the Ducal Palace, and espe-
 ‘ cially of the armoury in it, to supply any of his
 ‘ own men who want arms, and to prevent their
 ‘ being of service to the enemy. Another hun-
 ‘ dred, under Bribe, shall possess themselves of
 ‘ the Secque ; and an hundred more, under
 ‘ Brainville of the Procuraty, by the assistance of
 ‘ some men, who shall be artfully introduced in-
 ‘ to the Belfry in the day-time. This last hun-
 ‘ dred to remain in the Belfry, while the execu-
 ‘ tion lasts, as a corps de garde, to prevent the
 ‘ ringing the alarm bell. The entrance of all
 ‘ the streets leading to the Place must be occu-
 ‘ pied by other parties, and defended byartil-
 ‘ lery pointing towards the street. Till artillery
 ‘ can be had from the Arsenal, some are to be
 ‘ taken.

taken from the galley of the council of ten,
 which is hard by, and can be seized with little
 difficulty. In all these places thus secured, and
 where a guard is kept, they shall put to the
 sword all they find. During these different
 executions round the Place, the serjeant-major
 shall continue in the middle with the rest of
 the troops, in order of battle. All this must
 be accomplished with the least possible noise.
 Then shall they begin to declare themselves,
 by petarding the gate of the Arsenal. Upon
 this noise, the eight conspirators, who drew the
 plan of it, and are within, shall set fire to the
 four corners with the fire-works, which, as well
 as the petards, are ready at the house of the
 Ambassador for this purpose. They shall poi-
 gnard the principal officers. Amidst the confusion
 occasioned by the fire, and the noise of the pe-
 tards, this will be easily effected, especially as
 these officers will have no suspicion. They
 shall then join Renault upon his entry, put a
 stop to the slaughter, and the soldiers shall car-
 ry artillery to the most proper places; such as
 the Arena de Mari, the Fontego de Tedeschi,
 the magazines of salt, the Belfry of the Procu-
 raty, the Rialto Bridge, and other eminences,
 from whence the city might be laid in ruins,
 in case of resistance. While Renault petards
 the Arsenal, the Captain shall force the prison
 of

' of St Mark, and arm the prisoners. The se-
 ' nators shall be killed. And, to heighten the
 ' confusion, persons appointed shall set fire to the
 ' city in above forty different places, most distant
 ' from each other. In the mean time, the Duke
 ' d'Offuna's troops, hearing the signal given
 ' them upon seizing the Arsenal, shall land also
 ' at the Place of St Mark, and immediately dis-
 ' perse themselves through the principal quarters
 ' of the city ; as that of St George, that of the
 ' Jews, and others, under the conduct of the o-
 ' ther nine principal conspirators. The sole cry
 ' shall be LIBERTY. After these things are ex-
 ' ecuted, a general plunder shall be permitted,
 ' but not of strangers, from whom nothing shall
 ' be taken, on pain of death ; and all slaughter
 ' shall cease, except of those who resist.'

Nolot, on his arrival at Naples, found things
 in so good a situation at Naples, that the 6000
 men sailed next day, under the command of El-
 liot, an Englishman. To prevent suspicion, the
 Duke ordered the larger vessels to fetch a longer
 course in repairing to their stations, while Elliot,
 with the brigantines, was despatched by the
 shortest passage. On the second day of their
 voyage, this small fleet was met and attacked by
 some Barbary corsairs. Prepared only for
 transporting the troops, and not for a warm en-
 gagement, it was greatly distressed by the artil-
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lery of the Barbarians, whose vessels were more manageable, and better armed. But, though the crowded state of the Neapolitan ships left no room for a regular defence, yet, as the troops were all chosen men, they treated so roughly, with sword in hand, such of the enemy as they could grapple with, that the pirates would probably have repented interrupting their course, had they not been dispersed by a furious storm, which separated them in the very heat of action. The small fleet was so shattered, that it was some time before it could put to sea again. The Marquis de Bedmar, finding, by this news, that he could not disturb the approaching solemnity at Venice, assisted at the ceremony with the greatest magnificence. He declared, in full senate, when paying his compliments to the new Doge, that the particular joy he expressed on his promotion, arose from the hope that his Serenity would preserve on the throne the favourable dispositions he had manifested in Friouli, for the accomplishment of the peace.

On leaving this audience, he sent for Renault and the Captain, to whom his first question was, Whether they thought it proper totally to abandon their enterprise? They answered, that they were not only of the contrary opinion, but that their friends appeared no more disconcerted by this misfortune of the fleet, than if it had arrived in the
greatest

greatest safety ; and that they were all disposed to pursue the measures necessary for maintaining things in their present situation, in hopes of a more favourable opportunity. The ambassador, who had put this question with a trembling heart, embraced them upon their answer, with tears of joy. With such chearfulness and ardour as would have invigorated the most pusillanimous, and inspired the most desponding with intrepidity and boldness, he observed, that great disappointments, which unhinge the mind in ordinary affairs, are events incidental to extraordinary designs : That they prove the strength of the soul : That then only should a man think himself capable of executing any splendid enterprise, when he has once, with calmness and fortitude, beheld it deranged.

It was then agreed between the Marquis and his two confidants, to delay the execution till the approaching feast of the Ascension, which is the greatest solemnity in Venice ; the troops, in the mean time, to be kept in their present station, and provided with every convenience they could desire. For this purpose, the principal officers should be amply supplied with money. Of the three hundred officers brought to Venice, the superiors should be detained as a pledge for the fidelity of the rest, and the subalterns to return to their troops ; both to keep them in duty,
and

and to discharge the city of such a number of officers, which might awaken suspicion. Those who remained were to be entertained in the most agreeable manner, to prevent their wearying on account of the delay, or having leisure to reflect on the present posture of affairs; while their conduct should be narrowly observed by the twenty leading conspirators. To oblige the republic to tolerate the delay of the troops of Lievestein, and not to dismiss those of Nassau, the Governour of Milan and the Viceroy of Naples should not execute the treaties.

All the devices which the wit of man could suggest in opposition to reason, were invented by the Marquis de Bedmar, and executed by Don Pedro and the Duke d'Offuna. Notwithstanding they were obliged to make daily advances towards the peace they so much detested, the council of Spain durst hazard nothing on the precarious success of the conspiracy; while France, intent on maintaining the treaty of Paris, made the Venetians agree to the Duke of Savoy's disbanding the troops that had halted in the country of Vaux, and which served Don Pedro as an excuse for his delays. This difficulty being removed, the Marquis de Bedmar, with the view of preventing that Prince from restoring the places he had taken in the Montferrat, caused a report to be propagated, that,
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whenever the Duke of Mantua should be re-established, he would make an agreement with the Spaniards for that state. Don Pedro, at the same time, picked a groundless quarrel with the minister of Savoy, who had accompanied the French Ambassadors to Milan, and sent him an order to depart. Incensed by this affront, the Duke recalled him, and desisted from evacuating the conquered places. But, when the ambassadors represented, that he was falling into the very snare Don Pedro had laid for him, he instantly restored all his conquests. Pedro's astonishment was so great at this news, that he could not conceal it in his public conversation. He was forced to deliver up the prisoners and the smaller places ; but, with respect to Verceli, the object of importance, he raised such unaccountable difficulties, that Spain threatened his recall before the usual time. He, at first, pretended, that it would be affronting him to surrender this place, while the French Ambassadors were at Milan, as with an intention to compel him by their presence. They retired. He then claimed from the Duke of Savoy the previous restitution of certain lands belonging to some ministers of Mantua. The lands were restored. But still Verceli was not surrendered. France, desirous to conclude the marriage of the King's sister, Christiana, with the Prince of Piedmont, came,

came, at length, to such a decisive explanation with respect to that place, that Don Pedro began to remove thence the stores and artillery; but with incredible slowness. The Marquis de Bedmar having enjoined still greater delay, he bethought himself of requiring new assurances in behalf of the Duke of Mantua; till even the ministers of Mantua, impatient of such dilatory conduct, declared, in a manifesto, that they did not require these assurances.

Whatever uneasiness this declaration might give the Marquis de Bedmar, he still felt more from d'Ossuna's proceedings. The Duke, harassed with the complaints of the Venetians from all quarters, on his continuing to interrupt the navigation of the gulf, and at a loss what to advance farther in his vindication, devised for answer, that he would persist in this conduct, as long as the Venetians retained in their service the most inveterate enemies of the King his master. From the solicitude of the ambassador to detain the Dutch troops, who were the subject of this complaint, it may easily be imagined what was his rage, upon learning the Duke's answer. He never doubted but the senate, eager to purchase peace on any terms, would dismiss them, and leave the Viceroy no shadow of excuse. But the issue once more baffled Bedmar's judgment. Some demon, favourable to d'Ossuna's extra-

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vagancies,

vagancies, inspired the Venetians with a resolution directly contrary both to their inclination and interest. It was remonstrated in senate, that they had but too much discovered their desire of peace, which made the Spanish ministers so reluctant to fulfill the terms of it : That, to gratify the Viceroy in this complaint, was to make him believe he gave law to Venice. Instead of dismissing the Dutch troops, they ought to detain those of Lievestein, now ready to depart, till the treaties should be finally executed.

The Marquis de Bedmar's joy on this resolution was greatly allayed by the discovery of the plot at Crema. L'Alfier, the Provencal, and the Italian Captain, who had been corrupted there, quarrelled at play, and fought. The Captain was mortally wounded, and, to appease his conscience, confessed the whole before he expired, to the Venetian commander. L'Alfier, upon wounding his adversary, suspecting the consequences, made his escape, with such of his companions as he could advertise. The rest, with the French Lieutenant, who was the principal manager of the enterprize, were taken. But Renault having always appeared to them as an agent from Milan, and, as they could not discover what had become of him, this affair was ascribed wholly to Don Pedro.

About

About eight days after, the serjeant-major, who was to deliver up Maran, having, for his own emolument, suppressed some perquisites belonging to a valet de chambre of the Proveditor, and to a pensioner of the republic, the fellows, exasperated by their loss, availed themselves of his absence, entered his house, broke open his repositories, and carried off his money and papers. Amongst these were found letters mentioning his design. As he knew only d'Offuna's agent, who had negotiated with him, he could accuse none but the Duke. But he acted a nobler part. In the midst of torture, he always declared, that he knew no discovery he could make would save his own life; and, that he deemed it far more eligible to leave his accomplices, if any he had, in a situation to avenge his death, rather than needlessly destroy them along with himself. A public thanksgiving was observed in Venice for these two discoveries. The success of the enterprise, however, became still more certain than before. The senate, convinced that they had at length discovered the latent cause of the irregular proceedings of the Spaniards, and seeing these two plots frustrated, imagined they were now to enjoy a profound tranquillity, and no longer doubted of the accomplishment of the treaties.

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The moment of execution was now at hand. From the Sunday preceding the Ascension to Whitsunday, there is held at Venice one of the most celebrated fairs in the world. The difficulty, however, of surprising the city, was nowise increased by this great conflux of traders. On the contrary, it afforded an opportunity for the thousand soldiers to resort thither among the merchants, and to lodge themselves unobserved. They could easily leave the Venetian towns where they were dispersed; because, for some time past, the most impatient to return to their native country had deserted; and this had been overlooked by the magistrates, because the republic had thus fewer men to pay. But, to prevent surprise at so sudden and so general a desertion, the greater number, at their departure, gave out, that they were going to the fair at Venice. They assumed the disguise of all different professions. To guard against any suspicion of mutual intelligence, they who spoke different languages were lodged together, and appeared to be entire strangers to one another. Don Pedro sent the five hundred Spaniards destined for executing the plot that had been discovered at Crema, into the neighbourhood of Brescia; that, by the assistance of a faction formed there by the Count of Nassau's Lieutenant, and which still subsisted, this town might be occupied

cupied on the first notice of the success of the conspiracy. The Spanish commander, the moment he received orders from Renault, was to lead them to Venice.

The Venetian fleet had retired to Dalmatia ; but, on account of the continual restlessness of the Duke d'Offuna, in a situation to put to sea on the first orders. The Captain conveyed to the officers, who, in his absence, commanded the twelve ships, the strongest artificial fire-works, to be secretly distributed amongst the other vessels of the fleet, the day preceding the execution. As these officers were not distrusted, they could easily effect this, without being observed, or even suspected. They were charged to measure their matches so exactly, that all, if possible might, take fire at once. He gave orders, that, if any vessel escaped, it should immediately be attacked and seized, or sunk by their cannon; that they should then instantly repair to Venice ; and that, in the mean time, all things should be ready for immediate execution, and they should wait for further orders. The time was now fixed for the Sunday before the Ascension, which is the first day of the fair.

The Duke d'Offuna's little fleet was now so well escorted, that it arrived, without any accident, within six miles of Venice. To be less observable,

observable, it sailed in two divisions at some distance from each other. The greatest, to prevent suspicion, consisted of vessels like fishing-boats, and the rest of brigantines like those of the pirates. On Saturday morning orders were despatched to Elliot, to leave his station next day, in time to arrive within sight of Venice in the twilight ; to hoist the standard of St Mark ; to possess himself of some small islands by which he was to pass, and which could make no resistance ; but from whence notice of his approach might possibly reach Venice. He was directed to appear intrepidly before the two castles of Lido and Malamoco, which it was known were ungarrisoned, and between which he could pass without obstruction. He was then to advance within cannon-shot of the city, and give information of his arrival ; that, by the return of the advice-boat, the Captain might send seamen to pilot him, lest he should run on the banks which abound in the shoals surrounding Venice, or split on the rocks, which render the entrance of the ports impracticable to strangers.

Next day being requisite for adjusting the business of the night, Renault and the Captain thought it proper to hold a consultation with their companions, for the last time, on the preceding one. The Captain devolved on Renault the task of representing the situation of affairs,
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and of giving them necessary instructions. In spite, however, of their utmost endeavours, it was almost night before they could all be assembled. In this meeting were present, the three French gentlemen who lodged with Renault, the Count of Nassau's Lieutenant, the three Petardiers, L'Anglade, the two officers of the arsenal, the Captain and Lieutenant who had been formerly employed there, Nolot, the two Brulards, Jaffier, Robert, the Dutchman Theodore, the Savoyard, who had assisted at the storming Geneva, and the engineer Revellido. These twenty persons having shut themselves up with Renault and the Captain, in the most retired part of the Greek Lady's house, after the usual precautions on such occasions, Renault addressed them.

He began with a plain and copious narrative of the present state of affairs ; of their own and the republic's forces ; of the disposition of the city and of the fleet ; of Don Pedro's and the Duke d'Offuna's preparations ; of the arms, and other warlike-stores, at the Spanish ambassador's ; of the intelligence he had in the senate and among the Nobles ; in short, of the perfect knowledge they had obtained of every thing requisite to be known. Having gained the approbation of his audience by the recital of these particulars, the truth of which
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was equally well known to themselves, and which had been the effects of their united labours,

‘ These, my friends,’ continued he, ‘ are the
 ‘ means destined to conduct you to that glory
 ‘ of which you are in quest ; and each of you
 ‘ can judge whether they are not adequate and
 ‘ certain. We have infallible means of introdu-
 ‘ cing ten thousand armed men into a town,
 ‘ which has not two hundred to oppose them ;
 ‘ the plunder of which will unite with us all the
 ‘ strangers brought hither either by curiosity or
 ‘ business. Even its own populace will aid us,
 ‘ the moment that they can do it with safety, in
 ‘ stripping the great, by whom they have been
 ‘ so often fleeced. The finest ships in the fleet
 ‘ are ours ; and the rest, by this time, contain
 ‘ what must reduce them to ashes. The Arse-
 ‘ nal, the wonder of Europe, and terror of Asia,
 ‘ is almost already in our hands. The nine brave
 ‘ men present, who, for six months past, were
 ‘ ready to seize it, have taken their measures so
 ‘ effectually during this delay, that they incur
 ‘ no risk in answering for the success with their
 ‘ heads. Had we, for our support, neither the
 ‘ troops at the Lazaretto, nor those in Terra
 ‘ Firma, nor Elliot’s little squadron, nor Don
 ‘ Pedro’s five hundred men, nor the twenty Ve-
 ‘ netian ships under our companion, nor the
 ‘ Duke d’Offuna’s large fleet, nor the Spanish
 ‘ army

' army in Lombardy, yet, with our intelligence,
 ' and a thousand men, we should be sufficiently
 ' strong. Still, however, all these different suc-
 ' cours, now named, are so disposed, that each
 ' of them might fail without any prejudice to the
 ' rest. They may mutually aid, but cannot in-
 ' jure one another. It is next to impossible
 ' that they should not all succeed, and yet one
 ' of them alone is sufficient. If, then, after em-
 ' ploying all the precautions human sagacity can
 ' devise, a judgment can be formed of the suc-
 ' cess Fortune intends us ; What tokens of her
 ' favour can there be superior to those we have
 ' received ? Yes, my friends, they are undoubt-
 ' edly miraculous. It is unknown in history
 ' that an enterprise of this nature should have
 ' been discovered in part, and not entirely ruin-
 ' ed. Yet ours has surmounted five accidents,
 ' the least of which, in all human probability,
 ' might have rendered it abortive. Who would
 ' not have thought, that the destruction of Spi-
 ' nosa, while pursuing the same tract with us,
 ' would have occasioned ours ? That the dis-
 ' mission of the troops of Lievestein, who were
 ' totally devoted to our interest, would not have
 ' divulged what we so earnestly concealed : That
 ' the dispersion of the little fleet would not have
 ' broke all our measures, and been the copious
 ' source of fresh inconveniencies : That the disco-

'veries at Crema and at Maran should not
 'necessarily have involved that of the whole
 'scheme? Still all these have produced no con-
 'sequences. The traces which would have
 'led to us have not been pursued; nor has any
 'advantage accrued from the light they af-
 'forded. Never did so profound a sleep precede
 'so dreadful a catastrophe! The senate, we are
 'well informed, the senate is in absolute security.
 'Our good fortune has blinded the most quick-
 'sighted, has assured the most timid, lulled into
 'security the most suspicious, and confounded the
 'most penetrating of men. We are still alive,
 'my dear friends, and are more powerful than
 'before these misfortunes. They have only ser-
 'ved to prove our constancy. We live, and our
 'life shall soon be fatal to the tyrants of this
 'place. Is not a good fortune, so extraordinary
 'and inflexible, preternatural? Does it not af-
 'ford just ground to conclude, that it is the
 'work of more than human power? And, in
 'truth, my friends, what is there on earth worthy
 'of the protection of Heaven, if our enterprise is
 'not? We are about to destroy the most hor-
 'rible of all governments; to enrich the im-
 'po- verished subjects of this state, who, without our
 'aid, would be an endless sacrifice to the rapa-
 'city of the nobles. We shall preserve the ho-
 'nour of all the women, who might hereafter be
 'born

' born under their despotism, with charms suffi-
 ' cient to please them. We shall restore to the
 ' world numberless wretches, whom their cruelty
 ' can sacrifice to their petty resentments, for the
 ' most venial offences. We shall punish the most
 ' criminal of mankind ; those who are drenched
 ' in vices which Nature abhors, or blushes to en-
 ' dure. Let us not be afraid, then, to take the
 ' sword in the one hand, and the torch in the o-
 ' ther, to exterminate these miscreants. And,
 ' when we shall behold, involved in fire, those
 ' palaces where impiety reigns ; a fire rather
 ' from heaven than us ; the devouring flames
 ' consuming those tribunals, so often stained with
 ' the tears and substance of the innocent ; the fu-
 ' rious soldier drawing the reeking steel from the
 ' bosom of the wicked ; death stalking in every
 ' quarter ; and whatever hideous spectacles the
 ' darkness of the night, or military license, can
 ' produce. Let us then remember, my dear
 ' friends, that there is nothing thoroughly pure
 ' amongst men ; that the most laudable actions are
 ' productive of the greatest hardships. In short,
 ' instead of the various furies which scourge this
 ' unhappy country, the disorders of the ensuing
 ' night are the only means of establishing for ever
 ' peace, innocence, and liberty.'

This harangue was received by the whole as-
 sembly, with that complacency which men gene-
 rally

rally discover for sentiments consonant with their own. But Renault, during his speech, having attended to their countenances, observed, that Jaffier, one of the Captain's most intimate friends, had, all at once, fallen from eager attention into a disquietude, which he strove in vain to conceal, and that there still appeared in his eye an air of astonishment and melancholy, expressive of a mind struck with horror. Renault mentioned this to the Captain, who, at first, laughed at it; but, having observed Jaffier for some time, he became almost of the same opinion. Perfectly acquainted with the affinity, the indissoluble connection between the most secret emotions of the mind, and their slightest external indications betrayed in the agonies of the soul, Renault, after deliberately weighing what had appeared in Jaffier's looks, thought himself obliged to declare his doubts of this man's firmness. The Captain, knowing Jaffier to be one of the bravest men alive, accused this judgment as unreasonable and precipitate. But Renault, persisting to justify his suspicions, explained so clearly their grounds and effects, that the Captain, if he did not feel them so sensibly, was at least convinced that Jaffier ought to be watched. He represented, however, to Renault, that, though Jaffier should be staggered, which he could not conceive, he had not space before to-morrow night to form any plan

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or resolution of betraying them. But, in any event, the present situation of affairs did not afford time to adopt new measures ; that no choice was left them, and that the risk must of necessity be ventured. Renault answered, that they still possessed one infallible preventative of this danger, which was to poignard Jaffier themselves that evening. On this proposal, the Captain stood, for some time, speechless. At length he replied, that he could not think of assassinating his best friend upon a bare suspicion. His death might also be productive of many bad consequences. He was afraid it might alarm their companions, render themselves odious, create a belief that they usurped a domination over them, and affected to be the sovereign arbiters of their life and death. It was improbable, that the rest would see, equally with them, the necessity of cutting off Jaffier ; and, without this conviction, each conspirator would behold, with dread, his life exposed to the first surmise of the same nature. The human mind, when violently agitated, is easily susceptible of a wrong direction ; and, in such a state, the least alteration is of infinite importance, because recourse can be had only to desperate resolutions. Were they to conceal the manner in which Jaffier had disappeared, it was still more to be dreaded that they would believe he was discovered, and had fled,

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or else was a prisoner, or a traitor ; and, in spite of every pretence they could invent, his absence in the evening before the execution, wherein he was to bear such a principal part, could not but intimidate the rest, and suggest to them melancholy reflections.

While Renault was all attention to the Captain's reasoning, one of their people entered with an order, just issued by the senate, commanding every person employed in the fleet to embark next morning. There was brought, at the same time, a note from the ambassador, explaining this order. The Duke d'Offuna could not leave Naples so privately to join his large fleet, as to escape the knowledge of the republic's spies. But, as he had left an order stopping all carriages and letters to Venice for a certain time, the Venetians, before that day, could have no advice of his departure. The Archduke, lately elected King of Bohemia, had asked his assistance against the rebels of that country, who were now in motion ; and the Viceroy having vaunted that he would carry these succours through the gulf to the Archduke's harbours in Istria, the Venetians had prevailed with that Prince to entreat he would take another route. But, as the Duke did not regulate himself by the considerations which influence other men, they never doubted, upon hearing of his departure,

ture, but it was to conduct, in person, his forces, by the way he had proposed. Aversion to a rupture prevented their disputing the passage, which would have been no difficult matter. They chose rather to send their fleet to the coasts of Istria, the place of his disembarkment, to observe him, and prevent the temptations he might be under at the sight of their maritime places.

The strongest resolutions of men usually proceed from a sense of impending danger. Under the influence of this impression, the mind, by frequently revolving, at length familiarises itself to the perilous circumstances, however alarming. But the firmness of its resolution is so connected with these circumstances, that, should any of them vary on the verge of execution, there is a risk of its determination also changing. Of this Renault and the Captain were apprehensive, with respect to their companions, on account of the unforeseen embarkation of the Venetian fleet now announced. They were also exceedingly chagrined by this intelligence, because they imagined it might oblige them, however averse, to alter the disposition already fixed for accomplishing their enterprise. The execution could not take place immediately, as the night was already too far gone. It would have been day before the little fleet could receive notice to advance within

within cannon-shot of Venice, where it must necessarily be before they could begin, and before they could send for the troops from the Lazaretto. With respect to next day, as the Venetians were to put to sea, should Elliot likewise move forward, he must infallibly meet people repairing continually from Venice to the fleet. The course of the fleet, however, was the most favourable the conspirators could desire, being to turn its back on Elliot; and, every thing rightly weighed, it was thought proper to allow it time to get to some distance. The great difficulty was, to determine, whether the Captain, l'Anglade, the three Petardiers, and the other conspirators employed in the fleet, should obey the order of the senate. They seemed indispensibly necessary at Venice for the execution, especially the Captain, who could least of all stay behind. His important command in the fleet rendered him more observable than all the rest together. As the most of them served aboard his ships, their places could be almost supplied by his presence and authority, or their absence more easily concealed. For these reasons, it was determined, that the Captain should go, with only l'Anglade, whose office, as well as that of the three Petardiers, depended more immediately upon the Admiral. But, rather than part with these three, they chose to run every hazard. The Admiral inquired after

after them the moment he saw the Captain, who answered, that he imagined they, and some more of his officers still missing, were concealed in the courtezan's house in Venice; and that his precipitate departure had not allowed him time to discover them. The Admiral was so pressed by the senate to sail, and was so busy, that he could not, for some days, send in search of them, far less stay till they were found.

Before going abroad, the Captain spoke to Jaffier in private, and entreated him to supply his place with Renault on the night of the execution. He magnified their confidence in his courage and conduct; without a firm assurance of which he never could have resolved to depart. But, while Jaffier remained behind, he thought he left another self to his companions. During this discourse, the Captain eyed him with the greatest attention; but Jaffier, touched by these testimonies of esteem, answered with such appearances of zeal, fidelity, and gratitude, as would have satisfied the most diffident. This, however, was the last effort of his expiring firmness. It totally vanished with his friend. Having now no longer before his eyes the only man whose influence could fortify him, he entirely abandoned himself to his irresolution. Renault's description, in the conclusion of his speech, of the night of execution, had struck

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him to such a degree, that he was unable to restrain his compassion. His imagination heightened the picture. It represented faithfully, and in the most lively colours, all the cruelties and acts of injustice unavoidable on such occasions. From that moment he heard nothing on all sides, but the cries of infancy trodden under foot, the groans of butchered age, and the shrieks of violated honour. He saw nothing but palaces tumbling into ruins, churches wrapt in flames, and consecrated places defiled with blood. Venice, the sad, the deplorable Venice, continually presents itself before his eyes; no longer triumphant, as formerly, over the Ottoman greatness and Spanish senate, but mouldered into ashes, or captive in chains, and deeper drenched in the blood of its inhabitants than in its surrounding waters. This dismal spectre pursues him night and day; importunes, urges, staggers him. In vain are all his efforts to banish it from his sight. More inexorable than fabled furies, it haunts his table and retirement, and even mingles in his dreams. But, to betray all his friends! and, what friends? the brave, the intelligent; men of unrivalled merit each of them in his particular sphere. It would be the work of ages to assemble again such a number of extraordinary persons. In the very moment when about to immortalise their names, must they be robbed
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of the fruit now ready to be gathered from the greatest resolution that ever entered into the mind of any individual? And how will they die? By torments more strange and exquisite than ever were invented by the tyrants of former ages! Who does not know that there is a prison in Venice, more capable of shaking the fortitude of a brave man, than the most horrible punishments of other countries? These last reflections, attacking Jaffier on the weaker side, confirmed him in his first opinion. Commiseration of his companions balanced in his soul the compassion excited by the desolation of Venice. In this state of irresolution he continued, till the day of Ascension, to which the execution had been delayed.

In the morning, the conspirators received intelligence from the Captain, who acquainted them, that he would answer for the fleet, which was sailing to the neighbourhood of Maran; and desired, that, when the Lievestein troops were sent for from the Lazaretto, a boat might be despatched with advice to him, for which he would wait, before beginning operations on his side. The pilots were sent, as promised, to Elliot. Some properly qualified persons, gained for the purpose, were introduced into the Belfry of the procuratory of St Mark, who being acquainted

acquainted with the guards, laid them asleep by powerful drugs mixed in their victuals, and by making them eat and drink to excess on account of the public rejoicings of the day. Orders were given to some select officers to seize upon the houses of the most formidable senators, and to assassinate them. The house which every one was to attack, and the post each of the principal conspirators, and of the other officers, were to occupy, were marked out; the men allotted to each, the place where they would be found, the word whereby they would be known, and the road they should take, were all fixed. The troops at the Lazaretto, and the little Spanish fleet, and the thousand Dutch soldiers already in Venice, were also informed how they were to separate at the Place of St Mark, what was their destination, and the places they were to seize, who were the commanders appointed, and what the watch-word whereby to know them. Unsuspected persons visited the galley of the council of ten, and the artillery was found fit for service.

Jaffier's curiosity led him to be a spectator of the ceremony, wherein the Doge marries the Sea, as this was to be the last time of its being performed. At the sight of the public rejoicings his compassion redoubled. The profound tranquillity of the devoted Venetians inspired him with the keenest sensibility of their approaching destruc-

destruction ; and he returned more irresolute than ever. At last, Heaven, unwilling to abandon the work of twelve centuries, and of so many able men, to the rage of a courtezan, and of a band of profligate desperadoes, the good genius of the republic inspired Jaffier with an expedient, by which he hoped to save both Venice and his associates. He found out Bartholomew Comino, secretary to the council of ten, whom he acquainted, that he had something extremely urgent, and of the last importance to the safety of the state, to disclose ; but that he first required the Doge and the council to promise him one favour, and to bind themselves by the most sacred oaths to make the senate ratify their engagement. This request was the lives of twenty-two persons, whatever were their crime, whom he should name. But that, without obtaining this favour, no torments should ever extort his secret, as none were dreadful enough to wrest a single word from his mouth. The ten were instantly assembled, and they sent immediately to the Doge to receive the promise Jaffier demanded ; which, as they had done, he granted, without hesitation. Jaffier, therefore, fully satisfied with the part he was now to act, revealed the whole conspiracy.

The affair appeared so horrible and amazing, that it exceeded belief. It being easy, however,

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to verify some particulars, Comino was despatched to the Belfry of the Procuratory. He reported, on his return, that he had found the whole guard either drunk or asleep. He was then sent to the Arsenal, where it was long before the seduced officers could be found. At last, a servant, intimidated by his threats, shewed him a little door, which, after knocking some time in vain, he caused be burst open. Here he found the officers, with the three Petardiers, putting the finishing hand to the fire-works designed for the execution. He asked, what obliged them to work on such an high festival, and why they had not opened upon his knocking? They answered, with great ingenuity, that the Petardiers were to set out next day for the fleet; that the Admiral had ordered them to bring a great number of fire-works ready to play off; that, not finding as many prepared *as he wanted*, they had intreated the rest to assist them in making some; that, as this might be of consequence, they thought themselves excusable for not observing the festival; and that, to avoid scandal, they had shut themselves up, as he had found them, in the most private part of the Arsenal, which they had chosen as the most proper, on that account. Though Comino could not reply to this answer, he arrested them prisoners. The ten, still more and more affrightened, sent next to the Greek courtezan's

courtezan's house ; but no body was found there. The persons who had laid asleep the guard in the Belfry had also counterfeited sleeping when they saw Comino. But he was scarce gone, when they ran to the Courtezan's house, where they gave so warm an alarm, that, without losing a moment, Nolot, Robert, Revellido, Retrozi, Villamezzana, Durand, Ternon, and Robert Brulard, who chanced to be with her, got all into one of the barks, which waited at the Rialto to bring the troops of Lievestein, and happily escaped out of Venice. The council, chagrined on account of their escape, determined instantly to visit the houses of the French and Spanish ambassadors. Admittance was politely asked, on business relating to the safety of the republic. The Frenchman as politely granted it ; and Renault was seized, and carried away, with Lawrence Brulard and de Brilie. But the Spaniard refused with passion. He insisted on the privileges of his office, and protested, in rage, against the violence offered him, when he saw them enter by force. Arms were found with him for above five hundred men, sixty petards, and an incredible quantity of powder, of fire-works, and other articles of the same nature. An exact inventory was taken of these, in making which the Ambassador assisted and ridiculed them.

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While this inventory was carried to the council, a nobleman of the Valerian family came thither with Brainville and Theodore, two of the principal conspirators. Having learned that the whole scheme was detected, and despairing to save themselves, as they knew the ports were shut after the Grecian's escape, they adopted the scheme of pretending to discover the conspiracy. They waited, therefore, on this nobleman, with whom they had been acquainted in Flanders, to be introduced by him to the council, where they were arrested. A search was made, in the mean time, through all the taverns, inns, gaming-houses, stews, and other places, where strangers might be concealed; and all the officers, whether Dutch, French, Spanish, Walloon, Neapolitan, or Milanese, were secured, to the number of near four hundred.

Amidst these transactions, two natives of Dauphiny, who came from Orange, arrived in boots, and in the same dress, as in alighting from their horses, they had leaped into the bark that brought them. They declared in council, that some Frenchmen, their friends, had written to them from Venice, that, if they wanted to make their fortune, they had only to repair thither, because a conspiracy was upon the very eve of execution, for seizing upon the city, and giving it to be plundered. They had come, therefore, in the
utmost

utmost haste, to discover, instead of sharing in this atrocious wickedness. They were thanked, genteelly lodged, and desired to rest themselves till the senate could deliberate upon a suitable reward for them. In the mean time, the day came, the senate assembled, and the Marquis de Bedmar demanded audience. It was granted, merely from curiosity. The noise of the conspiracy had, by this time, spread over the city, and produced terrible distraction. The populace, under some confused impressions that it originated from the Spaniards, assembled around the ambassador's house, with a design to break it open, and were about to set it on fire, when the escort arrived to conduct him to audience. They explained their commission. The people, flattering themselves that the senate would inflict on him some exemplary punishment, allowed him to go, loading him with every possible abuse and imprecation.

The ambassador, having entered the senate, began with grievous complaints of the violence committed in his house, contrary to the law of nations. These complaints were accompanied with such haughty and direful menaces of revenge, as confounded and alarmed the greater part of the senate, afraid lest he should still have some means, unknown to them, of yet accomplishing his design. The Doge answered, that they

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would explain these excesses, when he should assign the reasons for the warlike preparations found in the possession of one, who, as an ambassador, ought to be the minister of peace. He replied, that he was perfectly astonished how people, reputed so wise, could be so absurd as to insult him, in his face, on so gross a pretence. They knew, as well as himself, that these stores were only deposited in his house, as in former instances, to be sent to Naples and Tirol. With respect to the arms, it was universally known, that none were so good as those fabricated in the towns belonging to the republic. As for the fire-works, and other things of that nature, some artists, of very uncommon skill, having offered their services, he was induced, by curiosity, to give them employment. The Doge interrupted him, by observing, that these artists were wretches, or rather monsters, born for the everlasting disgrace of mankind. Whilst pronouncing these words, he presented the Ambassador with a letter of credit to the Governour of Milan, found amongst Renault's papers, and with other letters of the Duke d'Offuna. The Ambassador answered, that he had already declared his sentiments relative to the Duke d'Offuna, to whose conduct he was an entire stranger. With respect to the letter of credit, the French ambassador had indeed recommended to him, some time ago,

ago, a gentleman who wanted a favour at Milan, upon some particular business, and that he had granted this person the letter they shewed him ; but he did not know that the republic was concerned in the matter. The Doge seeing, by the Ambassador's answers, that he would never be at a loss, contented himself with representing, in the most serious manner, the atrociousness of his enterprize ; and concluded, with protesting, that they were all far from thinking the King, his master, had the least concern in it. To this remonstrance, the Ambassador replied, with all the warmth that a man of worth feels when his honour is injuriously attacked. He was of a nation, he said, by nature so wise and brave, as to be far above employing vile artifices for the destruction of their enemies. The King, his master, was sufficiently powerful to subdue them by open force, without the aid of treachery ; and that this might soon be evinced. Upon these words, he left the house abruptly, and without ceremony. His conductors begged him to repose a little in an adjoining apartment, till the senate should give the necessary orders for his safety. Full of wrath, but disdaining to speak, he suffered himself to be led whither they pleased. While the populace were assembled in the Place with a design to tear him in pieces, as soon as he should be dismissed, it was easy for those sent
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to his house, with a strong guard, to put on board his domestics, and most valuable furniture. This being accomplished, they returned to bring the Ambassador away; and conducted him through private passages of the palace, to a brigantine well armed, and attended by a good convoy. The people, enraged at his escape, made effigies of him and the Duke d'Offuna, which they treated as they would have done their persons, had they been in their power.

Orders were, at the same time, despatched to the Admiral, to drown l'Anglade, Captain Jacques Pierre, and all his trusty officers aboard his ships. Imagining that they would be upon their guard, a vessel of the most uncommon construction and figure that could be found in Venice, was chosen to convey this order. She was so equipped as to prevent any suspicion of her sailing from thence; and fetched a large circuit, to appear as coming from another quarter. It was afterwards known, that the Captain had been all night in anxious expectation; and that, seeing this vessel arrive, he retired immediately into one of his largest ships, as if he had suspected the truth, and meant, if betrayed, to defend himself. But, it is probable, that the dread of ruining the whole, through a fear which might be only a panic, made him hesitate, and consider whether he should declare himself: For the
Admiral

Admiral having, without losing a moment, despatched to him two chosen and unsuspected men, they entered, seemingly unarmed, his apartment, where they found him alone, and, addressing him in their free and usual style, instantly stabbed him, and, without being perceived, threw him into the sea. L'Anglade, and forty of his officers, were quickly treated in the same manner, and with the same secrecy.

Renault having, in the mean time, been examined at Venice, answered, that he knew not what they meant. They showed him the letter of credit to Don Pedro, a passport, in Spanish, through all the countries subject to Spain, bills of exchange for large sums, and a thousand pistoles in gold. He insisted, that he knew neither the Spanish Ambassador nor the Governour of Milan; and that, if there was any thing among his papers relative to them, it must have been put there by some other person. As for the bills of exchange and the pistoles, he declared, that they were all he had in the world. He was put to the rack, ordinary and extraordinary; but answered nothing farther, unless that he was a poor old man of worth, quality, and honour, and that God would avenge his death. He was brought to the rack several days successively, and he was even promised impunity, if he would reveal all he knew; but in vain. After every variety

riety of torture, at different times, he was at last strangled in prison, and publicly hung up by one foot as a traitor. The Count of Nassau's Lieutenant, the three Petardiers, Bribe, Laurence Brulard, and the two officers of the arsenal, were hung in the like manner, after having suffered the rack with the same constancy. But Brainville, Theodore, and above three hundred officers, were only strangled or drowned privately.

Jaffier, in the mean time, maddened to despair by the fatal effects of his compassion, made loud complaints, that the Doge and council of ten had not fulfilled their promise in favour of his associates. It had not been violated, but in consequence of very mature deliberation. Several were of opinion, that it ought to be religiously observed. Others remonstrated, that, if the conspiracy had been disclosed by Jaffier only, it might indeed have been a question. But the two natives of Dauphiny having also revealed it, the senate were at full liberty to act as if Jaffier had made no discovery. This advice, seconded by the public horror and alarm, prevailed, though many considerations might have been urged to the contrary. Every expedient was employed to appease Jaffier. He was offered money and employment; but he refused every thing. Inflexibly and vainly demanding the lives of his companions,

nions, he at last left Venice, quite inconsolable for their fate. The senate, upon learning this, sent after him an order to quit the dominions of the republic in three days, at the peril of his life, along with four thousand sequins, which they forced him to receive. The regret he felt for his companions redoubled, whenever he reflected on his being the cause of their death. Having learned, on his journey, that the design against Brescia might still succeed, his desire of being revenged of the senate made him throw himself into that town. But he was scarce arrived, when the council of ten, having discovered this affair by the papers of the conspirators, sent thither some troops, who possessed themselves of the principal posts, and put several Spaniards, who had been introduced there, to the sword. Jaffier was taken fighting at their head, like a man who wishes only to sell his life at the dearest rate; and, being brought back in a few days to Venice, was drowned on the morrow after his arrival.

The death of this unhappy wretch having re-established the tranquillity of this noble city, the first business of the senate was to ask another ambassador from Madrid. Don Lewis Bravo was immediately nominated to this office, with orders to set out instantly; and the Marquis de Bedmar gave him, according to custom, an instruction,

struction, which might be reduced to these two points : The first was, that the new ambassador should, on all occasions, vehemently arraign the conduct of his predecessor, and affect an opposite one, even in matters of the greatest indifference. The other, that, in all his transactions, in which the rights and pretensions of the republic were concerned, he should, instead of all other Memoirs, make use of the ‘ Squittinio della ‘ Libertà Veneta,’ to which the Marquis referred him in several places of his instructions, in terms which, though modest, sufficiently discovered his paternal affection for this libel.

In the mean time, there was published through all the dominions of the republic, by sound of trumpet, and in a manifesto, an interdict, prohibiting, under pain of death, the imputing any concern in the conspiracy to the King of Spain, or the Spaniards. Thirty thousand ducats were given to the two natives of Dauphiny, who had come from their own country on purpose to discover it. Don Pedro seeing every thing irretrievable, disbanded his troops, and restored Verceli. The Duke d’Ossuna set the Captain’s wife and children at liberty, and conferred on them magnificent presents. The Marquis de Bedmar received an order from Spain, to serve in capacity of first minister in Flanders, and, a few years after, a cardinal’s hat from Rome.

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THE following history is collected from all the Spanish, French, Italian, and Flemish writers who have treated of the period in which the events happened. The principal of these authors are, Monsieur de Thou, Aubigné, Brantome, Cabrera, Campana, Adriani, Natalis Comes, Dupleix, Matthieu, Mayerne, Mezeray, Le Laboureur sur le Castelnau, Strada, Meteren, the Historian of Don John of Austria, the Elogies of Father Hilarion de Coste, a Spanish Book of the Sayings and Heroical Actions of Philip II. an Account of the Death and Obsequies of his Son, &c. It is also taken from different performances, both printed and in manuscript, which are connected with this history. Among others, from a small book in verse, entitled, Diogenes, which investigates this matter to the bottom ; from a manuscript of Monsieur de Pieresc, written expressly on the same subject. For the greater satisfaction, however, of the reader, where any very striking and extraordinary passages occur, the principal authorities on which they rest are marked at the bottom of the pages.

D O N C A R L O S,

A N

HISTORICAL NOVEL*.

Translated from the FRENCH

OF THE ABBOT DE ST REAL.

WHEN the Emperor Charles V. had determined to resign his dominions, in order to retire from the world, afraid to leave his son exposed to the prosperous fortune of Henry II. of France, the effects of which he had himself experienced, he concluded a truce with that Prince for five years. Amongst the overtures of peace tendered during this respite, was the proposal of a marriage between Don Carlos, the

* The reference made, in the prefixed intimation, to so many writers, and the authorities quoted in the course of this performance, show, that it is rather an historical tract, than a work of imagination. Some fancy has, no doubt, been indulged in the arrangement of the different parts, and in the combination and embellishment of circumstances; but the events, in general, are real, and many of them important.

the Infant of Spain, only son of Philip II. by Mary of Portugal, his first wife, and the Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of France.

This Princess was, indeed, very young, but surprisingly accomplished for her years. As the match was very acceptable to both families, she conceived, upon its being proposed, a high esteem for her intended husband. Her tender heart, finding this opportunity of attaching itself to a particular object, dwelt upon it with secret delight, till she thus became insensibly engaged in a passion, which afterwards gave a greater alarm to her virtue than she could have at first imagined. The Prince of Spain was no less happy in his fate. As all he had heard of this Lady served to inspire the most pleasing idea of her, he fondly indulged every tender desire which this idea could excite. The portrait of the Princess finished what the fame of her beauty had begun. He was assured, that the likeness was very striking; and Don Carlos readily believed what he so earnestly wished to be true. Whilst gazing on the picture, he revolved in his mind every possible method of communicating to the Princess his opinion of her. He could not bear to think that she should be ignorant of the happiness which the prospect of their union had diffused throughout his soul. Almost ashamed sometimes of his good fortune, he wished for an opportunity

opportunity to engage, before it should become her duty to bestow, her affections. But, since this was impossible, to have been possessed of any means of conveying his various sentiments, would, as he imagined, have afforded him no small consolation.

But the face of affairs was soon changed by the breach of the truce. This was effected by the Princes of Lorrain, who made the war be renewed at the instigation of Pope Paul IV. The Pontiff's object was, to procure a powerful diversion in Flanders, in order to relieve himself from the Duke of Alva, general of a Spanish army, who had, for some time, kept him almost blocked up in Rome. The expedient answered their expectations in this quarter; but it had not the same success in Flanders. There the French were defeated in two engagements, in which almost the whole of the best troops in the kingdom were either killed, or made prisoners; by which their affairs were reduced to such extremity, that they resolved to purchase peace on any terms. This peace was the work of the Duke of Savoy, general of the Spanish army, and of the Constable Montmorency, his prisoner. The Constable having represented to this Prince, that a more favourable opportunity could never occur of recovering his estates, from which his father had been expelled by Francis I. the
Duke

Duke so effectually managed Philip II. that the treaty was concluded soon after at Chateau-Cambrésis. It may easily be imagined how much Don Carlos was grieved when the truce was broken, and how great his joy when the negotiations of peace were resumed. But this peace, so highly flattering to his hopes, was the very circumstance that ruined them for ever.

During this negotiation, Philip II. became a widower, by the death of Mary Queen of England, his second wife. As he intended to marry again, he asked for himself the Princess allotted for his son. It would have been more agreeable to have bestowed her on the heir of the crown, her equal in age, than on a Prince who was old enough to have been her father, and by whom she could have only younger children. But the King could not be decently refused.

Though this intelligence was a thunder stroke to Don Carlos, and received in the midst of a numerous company, yet he had so much the command of himself, as not to betray the grief it occasioned. But this constraint cost him dear when alone. Whatever love or rage could inspire then distracted his mind. But, as the excess of his grief prevented his forming any resolutions, and the present state of his affairs prevented him from attempting any enterprise, his despair imperceptibly changed into melancholy.

Thence

Thence sprung his future singular manner of life, which rendered him so obnoxious to his father, who, unsuspicious of its real cause, and judging of his son by himself, imputed the chagrin of this young Prince to an impatient desire of reigning.

With respect to the Princess, as her sentiments for Don Carlos were rather a disposition to love, than a real passion, a fear lest it might not be truly love, occasioned inexpressible distrust in herself. Extremely curious hitherto to know what effects her picture had produced on Don Carlos, she wished that his heart might be still more sensibly touched than her own. But, from the moment she learned the change of her destiny, she dreaded nothing so much as to be the object of his affection. Whatever pleasure there is in being handsome, she wished that her charms had been less celebrated. Agitated by these different thoughts, and incapable of that presence of mind necessary to acquit herself gracefully, in a juncture so trying as her arrival at the court of Spain, she postponed her departure as long as decency would permit. Though the Duke of Aiva, as proxy for his master, had married her in the month of June, she did not leave Paris till the end of November. She stopped at all the fine houses that were on the road, and did not arrive in Guienne till the end of the year, as if
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this delay could have produced in her heart what reason was unable to effectuate. When she reached the Pyrennees, Fortune, who sometimes diverts herself by bestowing her favours when least foreseen, gave her a further and unexpected respite.

Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, was appointed to escort the Princess, and to deliver her at the frontier into the hands of the Cardinal of Burgos, and of the Duke de l'Infantada. This King possessed only lower Navarre, the higher having been usurped by the Spaniards from his wife's grandfather. That he might not, however, invalidate his right to both, he refused to acknowledge the boundary which separates them as the frontier of Spain; and he required from the Spanish deputies a declaration, that his delivering up the Queen at this place should not hurt his pretensions. This declaration was of too great moment to be made without express orders. It was necessary, therefore, to write to Madrid, and to wait on the spot for an answer. Philip would have gladly wished that the court of France had saved him this embarrassment, and that the commission had been given to any other than the Prince of Navarre. But the Guises, who had lately gained the entire direction of public affairs, had their own reasons for keeping at a distance the Princes of the blood.

blood. As they wanted only pretexts, they were overjoyed to have one so plausible, to get rid of him who disturbed them most. It was necessary, therefore, that the King of Spain should either give immediate satisfaction to the King of Navarre, or refer the matter to a negotiation, in order to obtain his recall by the court of France. The last measure would have occasioned a delay quite intolerable to a Prince, who was waiting to receive, as his wife, the most beautiful woman in the world. This great politician gratified the impatience of his love, at the expence of his intestest. He wrote back, authorising the deputies to comply with the King of Navarre's demands.

The Queen took the direct road to Madrid ; and Don Carlos set out to meet her, accompanied, amongst others, by the young Prince of Parma, Alexander Farnese his cousin, and by his governour Rui Gomez de Sylva, Prince of Eboli, and favourite * of the King. Upon the first notice the Queen received of the Prince's approach, such opposite emotions arose in her soul, and agitated her with such violence, that she swooned away in the arms of her maids, and was scarcely recovered when Don Carlos was at hand to accost her. After the first civilities were over, these

two

* Father Hilarion de Coste ; Minime, in his Panegyric on the Queen.

two illustrious personages totally engaged in contemplating each other, dropped the conversation; and the rest of the company not speaking, from respect to them, there ensued, for some time, a silence, very extraordinary on such occasions.

Don Carlos was not made in perfect symmetry * ; but, besides having an excellent complexion, and the most beautiful countenance, his eyes were so full of fire and spirit, and his air so animated, that he was far from being disagreeable. At first, he was quite dazzled with the beauty of the Queen. But the recollection of what he had lost in losing her, soon turned his admiration into grief; and, foreseeing what suffering she would occasion him, he was imperceptibly led to behold her with a kind of dread.

The Duke de l'Infantada, in the mean time, imagined, that the Queen waited, from civility, till Don Carlos should set out, and that the Prince waited, in the same manner, from respect to the Queen. He, therefore, acquainted her, that it was time to proceed forward, and thus relieved both from a greater embarrassment than he perceived. The Prince having taken his seat in the Queen's coach, never removed his eyes from her during the whole journey, and thus had every opportunity he could have wished of gazing on her, and undoing himself. The Queen

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immediately

* Brantome, in Philip II.

Immediately observed him, and felt a secret and irresistible emotion of pleasure in beholding the raptures of Don Carlos. She durst not, however, look steadily at him ; nor could he at first view her without trembling ; till at last their eyes, after for some time avoiding each other, and impatient of such constraint, having accidentally met, they had not power to turn them aside. By these faithful interpreters, Don Carlos told the Queen what he felt, and by a thousand sad and impassioned looks, prepared her for the greatness and the obstinacy of his love. The heart of this Prince, entrusted with its own secret alone, and torn by the grief of his bad fortune, impatiently panted for relief ; and, persuaded, by the constrained and embarrassed manner of the Queen, that she understood him, he thence derived such exquisite joy, as bestowed a momentary oblivion of his father's happiness, and of his own misfortunes. This satisfaction gave him a freedom of behaviour which he little expected at the first interview of the King and Queen, while this Princess had fallen into so deep a reverie by the way, that she could scarcely recover herself even when in the presence of her husband.

Upon their arrival at Madrid, and the King's receiving her in alighting from the coach, after interchanging the first compliments usual on
such

such occasions, she began to look earnestly at him, in order to discover whether he attended to her present confusion. Not suspecting the real cause of her embarrassment, the King asked her somewhat peevishly, whether she was observing that he was already gray-headed *? These words were construed as a bad omen by the company present; and it was conjectured, that the union of two persons so widely different in age and sentiment, could not be very happy.

The court of Spain, who had listened to the wonders reported of the Queen's beauty, as to the common exaggerations of the good qualities of Princes, were greatly astonished, when they found, that Fame came far short of the truth. This Princess was handsome from her birth, and now appeared in the highest lustre which the bloom of youth could give to the most perfect beauty. All beauties do not strike all hearts alike. But the Queen was equally adored by the people and the court. Every appearance she made in public was a new triumph; and so difficult was it to see without loving her, that it is, even to this day, a tradition in the court of Spain, that no man who was wise could venture to behold her face †. In short, if it be true that beauty possesses natural sovereignty in itself,
never

* Brantome, in his Discourse on this Queen.

† Brantome, in her Elogy.

never was there a Queen more invested with royalty.

It was almost impossible that the fortunate husband, destined to the possession of so many charms, could regard them with insensibility. The whole demeanour of this Princess appeared to him engaging. He always found in her an attractive sweetness, equally remote from the forbidding reserve of the Spanish Ladies in public, and their ridiculous fondness in private. When reflecting on these matters, he sometimes wondered at his good fortune. But this he concealed; for he deemed it totally incompatible with his dignity to betray to the young Lady the passion he felt for her. Had she, at any time, entertained a suspicion, that such were his sentiments, it must soon have been relinquished, when she considered how little confidence he reposed in her, his austere manner, and strict caution in confining all his civilities to the privacy of night, as if he had been afraid to lay aside, even in her company, that state which he maintained before the world. This behaviour, apparently so cold, so remote from that agreeable unrestrained frame of mind which commonly attends the gratification of the passions, ill accorded with the Queen's ideas of the life of two new married persons, who are blest in mutual love. She considered her husband, therefore, as a man whose body alone

lone was her's, and whose soul was entirely engrossed by designs of ambition, and schemes of politics. She was, however, so much beloved by him, that enjoyment, instead of abating, only increased his passion; whether it was that possession, which satiates the desires of most other husbands, served only to inflame his, by discovering hidden charms, and beauties entirely new, or that the attempt to hide his passion redoubled its force.

Don Carlos was, in the mean time, in extreme disquietude to know how he stood in the Queen's affection. Though, when she looked at him, he imagined that her eyes expressed a secret passionate languor, which was not discernible at other times, he durst not believe what he saw. But, however impatient to obtain an explanation, it was long before he could speak with her in private. She was never alone during the rejoicings on account of the nuptials. At length Fortune, who takes pleasure in favouring designs which can have mournful consequences only, presented him with an opportunity when least expected.

The King having arrived in Spain but a short time before the Queen, had not yet paid the last honours to the Emperor's remains, which were deposited a few days journey from Madrid, in the Monastery of the Hieronymite Friars, where
he

he had finished his days. The Queen was happy to attend her husband on this excursion, that she might see a country which is reckoned the most beautiful spot in all Spain. The Hieronymites of St Just are situated in a valley at the entry into Estremadura, which stretches along the banks of the Guadiana, from the border of Castile to that of Portugal. This valley is encircled with hills of an extraordinary height, the least fertile places of which are covered with wood of a perpetual verdure, that grows only in warm countries. A thousand rivulets, rising in these woods, after various windings, empty themselves into the river, which traverses the plain below; and the soil, watered by these copious streams, has, through all ages, produced an infinite number of orange, lemon, and such other trees as grow in this happy climate. These waters, during the most intense heat of summer, preserve, under the shades of this wilderness, a coolness, which all the art of man could not elsewhere produce, while the verdure of their banks displays a vivid glow, which has hitherto mocked the power of the painter's pencil.

The court having arrived in this solitude, which Charles had rendered so famous by his retreat; and, after having discharged the first duties of piety, the King desired to see a young Friar, who had been greatly beloved by his father,

ther,

ther, and, amongst other things, was curious to know the origin of this friendship. He learned, that the Emperor going one morning, in his turn, to awake the other Friars, found this one, who was still in his noviciate, buried in so profound a sleep, that it was with difficulty he could make him arise ; that the Novice, at last getting up with reluctance, and still half asleep, could not refrain saying to him, ‘ That he ought to ‘ have been content with disturbing the repose of ‘ the world while he was in it, without coming ‘ to disturb the repose of them who had left it ;’ and that this answer had appeared so pleasant to the Emperor, that he henceforward loved him.

After some other conversation, they all separated in this enchanting wilderness, while the Queen, who was weary with her journey, was left almost alone with Don Carlos. As those who remained near them were not of a rank to mix in their company, Don Carlos, transported with joy at this opportunity, proposed, that she should rest herself in a small orange grove, which was behind the Emperor’s apartment. Having retired thither, the Prince, afraid of being interrupted, immediately began the conversation with a freedom of spirit which surprised himself, and made the Queen almost lose her suspicions of his design. He first conjured her to suffer no uneasiness from any thing he should say, and to believe,

lieve, that he would trouble her only to hear him. He then begged her to recollect the time when they were intended for each other, and to think what impression so pleasing a hope must have made upon his heart. ‘ You may easily judge, Madam,’ continued he, ‘ that your appearance has not effaced this impression, and, ‘ I am well convinced, it never will be effaced.’ The Queen could not, at first, help being pleased to see a man animated with sentiments so passionate towards her, and such as none had ever dared to avow. But, reflecting afterwards on Don Carlos’s words, she so well understood their import, and they conveyed so affecting an idea of the state of the Prince’s mind, as excited her tenderest pity. She acknowledged, that her esteem for him during the time of their intended marriage, allowed her not to behold, with insensibility, what he evidently suffered, nor to refuse him what consolation was consistent with her duty. The Prince replied, that he pretended to no more than that of seeing and conversing with her. But the Queen, afraid perhaps of saying too much, arose at these words, and, advancing towards the Prince of Parma and Rui Gomez, who approached them, she only added to Don Carlos, that, if he were wise, and really loved her, he would rather avoid than solicit her company.

Don

Don Carlos was highly pleased with having made a declaration of his passion. His mind seemed now as easy, as it had formerly been distracted. This was immediately observed by the Queen. As there is no disguise which love cannot assume, in order to steal into the heart, not even that of reason and virtue, she thought herself obliged, both by prudence and generosity, not to disclose the Prince's passion. In this view of matters, she could not refrain acquainting him, that she considered the change of his humour as the effect of his discretion. Don Carlos took the liberty to remind her of this, at their first private interview, after the court returned to Madrid. He assured her, with extreme pleasure, that there was no temper nor behaviour so opposite to his natural disposition, which his passion could not make him easily assume. They henceforth reposed, with inconceivable delight, the most unreserved confidence in each other. Don Carlos related to the Queen all that had passed in his heart and mind from the first moment he had heard her mentioned, while she, in her turn, entertained him with the history of her infancy, and a thousand minute circumstances, which, though they would have appeared tedious to indifferent persons, most agreeably interested their attention; only, when she mentioned their intended marriage, she did not de-

scribe her feelings with the same freedom as the Prince did his, on that occasion. But her visible constraint, in concealing them, discovered more than language could have expressed. In such endearing conversation did these two illustrious persons employ the moments they could spend together, when Fortune, already ceasing to befriend them, engaged Don Carlos in an adventure, which was the first source of their calamities.

Of all the Ladies who were envious of the Queen's beauty, none disliked her more, or with greater reason, on this account, than the Princess d'Eboli. She was a woman of the greatest wit and beauty at court, where, by these qualifications, and the interest of Rui Gomez her husband, she held the first rank. She was equally fond of grandeur and of pleasure. With high expectations from the charms both of her person and mind, she had at first formed designs upon the heart of the King. But the Queen's beauty having defeated her views, she endeavoured to engage the affection of Don Carlos, little suspecting to find, in the heart of his son, the same obstacle which had prevented her success with the father. Rui Gomez, as governour to the Prince, lived with him in the same apartments. Thus the Princess d'Eboli, his wife, beside this opportunity of seeing, had often occasion to oblige him,

him, by accommodating matters between him and her husband, with whom he was frequently embroiled. Don Carlos, who was of a generous spirit, and who observed her zealous exertions in his behalf, was very grateful, and lived with her on the best terms. These favourable dispositions inspiring the Princess with good hopes of her design, she soon found an opportunity of bringing the Prince to the point she had in view.

His admiration of the Queen had inspired him with a kind of contempt of all other women. Besides, most young people of this rank, it is well known, are fond of diverting themselves at the expence of every one they meet with, while the flattery of those who superintend them often encourages, instead of repressing these offensive sports. Don Carlos, who was not exempt from the faults of his years and condition, and the Prince of Parma still younger, and more impetuous, having one day indulged themselves in this kind of humour with some Ladies of the first quality, who complained of it, the Princess d'Eboli, with the utmost difficulty, prevailed on Rui Gomez not to mention it to the King. The same evening, being at home, and alone with Don Carlos in a closet, she began to reproach him for his little complaisance towards the Ladies; and, after a good deal of raillery on this subject, she concluded, that her friendship for
him

him must, indeed, be very strong, to forgive offences of this nature. The Prince, not seeing her aim, and thinking himself obliged, from gratitude, to profess an high degree of affection for her, answered, smiling, that she had more reason than she imagined to interpose in his behalf, as the little regard he had for other Ladies was owing to her having engrossed the whole of that esteem he was capable of entertaining for the sex. Transported with this speech, which she interpreted as a declaration of love, the Princess replied in such a manner as opened his eyes, and made him sensible of his good fortune. At first, he thought of availing himself of it. Never, in his opinion, was infidelity more excusable than that he was about to commit. This Princess was one of those women who, without every feature being regular, have something still more engaging than the most perfect beauties. But, however dangerous, Don Carlos was still more engrossed by his passion for the Queen. His imagination represented her, at this moment, adorned with all those graces, and that inexpressible sweetness; which made the beauties of others appear coarse, compared with her's; and the power of this idea made him regard the Princess with a degree of contempt, which she had no reason to expect. He received her advances, however, in the most obliging manner he could,

without

without returning them. But she well knew, that he professed a passion, which he did not feel. A woman who finds herself in this situation, never forgets ; and she never recollects it but with rage, if she has no reason to recollect it with pleasure. The reader will see what effects this transport produced in the heart of the Princess d'Eboli. Love, in the mean time, pitying her adventure, introduced a new personage upon the theatre of the court, to repair Don Carlos's misconduct.

This was Don John of Austria, natural son of Charles V. whom the King, about this time, took from under the tutelage of a Spanish gentleman, who had educated him as his own son. Though this young Prince had always believed himself to be so, he was no less haughty and ambitious than if he had known his parentage. When the Spaniard, his reputed father, threw himself at his feet, before presenting him to the King, Don John beheld him in this posture with as much indifference, as if he had long expected the change. Seeing nothing in the elevation of his new rank superior to his aspiring spirit, he was no way struck with it ; and the whole court beheld, with wonder, the son of Don Louis de Quisciada accustom himself, in less than half an hour, to appear as the son of an Emperor.

This

This new Prince not being of a temper to employ the precautions necessary for guarding his heart against the Queen's charms, fell in love with her at first sight. Whether this passion flattered his vanity, or whether he hoped to make it subservient to his interest, he made no effort, on perceiving it, to check its progress. Naturally artful, he easily concealed his officiousness towards the Queen, under the pretence of paying court to her. His assiduity soon became troublesome to Don Carlos; and, though this Princess endeavoured to persuade him, that she was glad, because this obstacle rendered their conversation less free, and exposed her less to his tenderness; yet, from this time, she conceived an aversion to Don John, into the cause of which she did not choose to inquire.

There is no interference in life wherein dissimulation is more practised than in love, nor is there any wherein it is more difficult to dissemble. The Prince was not always so much master of his chagrin, when embarrassed by Don John's presence, but that the latter, at length, discovered something under it; and, as nothing is so penetrating as the eyes of a rival, he soon guessed the cause. This discovery awakened an insatiable curiosity to learn, whether the Prince's passion was known to the Lady who inspired it, and whether it was reciprocal. To obtain light
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in this matter, he resolved to make love to a French Lady of the Queen's retinue, who was sufficiently handsome to give credibility to this feint, and who seemed a greater favourite than her other maids. He spared nothing that could be put in practice to corrupt her, but without being able to extract the secret of her mistress, whereof she was entirely ignorant: For the Queen, so far from entrusting it to any one, would have wished to conceal it from herself. He pretended to converse with this Lady, in order that Don Carlos might be left alone with the Queen; and he imperceptibly became as obliging as he had formerly been the reverse. He imagined, that, if they understood each other, no discovery could be made by mixing in their conversation, because they would be guarded against him; and, that his officiousness would only render him more hateful, and remove him farther from that confidence wherein he so ardently wished to partake. The Queen seemed so reserved, that he entirely despaired of insinuating himself into her's. He attempted, therefore, to gain that of the Prince, whose free and open disposition promised him more success. In this view, he entirely changed his conduct with regard to him. He no longer used that familiarity to which the relation of uncle entitled him, but became the most respectful of all his courtiers.

ers. He improved so dexterously every opportunity of pointing out the good qualities of Don Carlos, that this Prince, unsuspicious of flattery being concealed under the praise he was conscious he deserved, began insensibly to think that his uncle really loved him. At length, he reposed in him an high degree of trust. But, as a man of honour who truly loves, never confides the secret of his passion to others, when honourably treated, the Prince at last communicated to his uncle every thing, except the very circumstance he wanted to know.

Don John, despairing of making any discovery, resolved to advise with some person who had more knowledge than himself in this affair. As he was the handsomest and best figure of any Prince in Europe, he had, from the first, pleased the Princess d'Eboli, who little imagined that the Queen would defeat all her schemes. She did not, however, frustrate this last, like her other intentions. Don John was one of those easy tempers, who are sensible to beauty, only in the view of the pleasures it bestows ; and that of the Princess promising a great deal, affected, at least, his senses, if it did not, like the Queen's, reach his heart. He considered, besides, the Princess as a person whose advice might be of great service, in a court where every thing was entirely new to him. By his eager advances, he
prevented

prevented the indications she wished to give of her favour, and appeared transported with such joy, on discovering the first marks of it, that she justly concluded he would return the highest with suitable ardour. Thus they soon formed an intercourse, so much the more agreeable, as the heart was less interested to disturb its pleasures by jealousy, and those other anxious refined feelings inspired by noble passions.

While Don John was living in this manner with the Princess d'Eboli, he resolved to disclose to her what he knew of the passion of Don Carlos. It may easily be imagined how great was her joy on receiving this news. Totally engrossed by it, she never reflected on the interest he took in the Queen's heart. She only enjoined him to persevere in observing every thing ; because no circumspection whatever can, at all times, be proof against inadvertency, where there is real affection. Thus, in the same manner, as she did not reflect on his concern in this affair, he also did not consider the zeal with which she promised to embark in it. Without farther inquiry, he imagined it was the effect of her complaisance to him, and of the ordinary curiosity of her sex. It is probable, that two persons so enlightened would have soon discovered what so much interested them to know, had not an accident disconcerted all their measures, by

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removing Don Carlos from court. To understand this, it is necessary to trace matters a little farther back.

Amongst the different reports circulated through the world upon the Emperor's retreat, the strangest was, that his frequent intercourse with the Protestants in Germany had prepossessed him in favour of their opinions; and, that he had concealed himself in retirement, to enjoy the liberty of ending his days in exercises of religion agreeable to his private inclinations*. It is said, he never could forgive himself for his bad treatment of the brave princes of this party, put into his power by the fate of war. Their virtue, amidst all their sufferings, eclipsed his good fortune, and had, by degrees, produced in his mind a regard for their sentiments. He could no longer condemn a religion to which such great personages did the honour of sacrificing all that is deemed most valuable among men. This esteem appeared in his choice of persons suspected of heresy for his spiritual direction; namely, of Doctor Caçalla his chaplain, the Archbishop of Toledo, and especially of Constantine Ponce Bishop of Drosse his father-confessor. It was afterwards known, that the cell in which he died at St Just was filled, on all sides, with sentences, written by his own hand,

on

* Monsieur de Thou, D'Aubigné, &c.

on Justification and Grace, little different from the doctrines of the Reformers. But nothing so much established this opinion as his last will. It contained no pious legacies, no foundations for prayers; and it was so different from those of zealous catholics, that the inquisition of Spain thought they had a good title to take it under their cognisance. They did not venture, however, to make any noise about it before the King's arrival. But that Prince having signalized himself, upon his coming into Spain, by punishing the partizans of the new doctrine, the inquisition, emboldened by his example, attacked first the Archbishop of Toledo, then the Emperor's chaplain, and at last Constantine Ponce.

The King having suffered them all three to be imprisoned, the people considered his patience as the master-stroke of his zeal for the true religion; while the rest of Europe beheld, with horror, the Emperor's confessor, in whose arms this Prince had died, and who had, as it were, received his great soul into his bosom, delivered up by the hands of the King his son, to the most infamous torments. In short, in the course of the process, the inquisition resolved to accuse these three persons as accessory to the Emperor's will, and had the audacity to condemn both them and it to the flames. The King was aroused by this sentence as by a clap of thunder. Jealousy
of

of his father's glory gave him, at first, some pleasure in this insult to his memory. But, having afterwards reflected on the consequences of their outrageous proceeding, he diverted its effects by the gentlest and most private means he could devise, to save the honour of the Holy Office, and maintain inviolated the authority of that tribunal.

Don Carlos, upon hearing the first news of this affair, treated it with raillery. But, when he saw the inquisition continue their prosecution, he conceived an indignation against them proportioned to what he owed to the Emperor's memory. To understand the particular concern he took in this matter, it is necessary to observe, that this great personage, who, amongst other noble qualities, possessed, in an eminent degree, that of knowing mankind, had conceived extraordinary hopes of his grandson. When he retired to Spain, he desired that the Prince might stay with him: And it was in this excellent school of wisdom and magnanimity that Don Carlos was confirmed in his natural love of glory and heroic virtue. His ambition to acquit himself suitably to the pains of this august preceptor had, in some degree, ripened his mind beyond his years, and produced fruit scarce to be expected at that season. The Emperor knew how to manage the vehement and lively temper

per of that Prince, with so much address and gentleness, that, in a short time, it was visibly moderated. But, as it was to be feared this great ardour of soul, if entirely repressed, might take a wrong direction, he had given it all the elevation necessary to turn it to the pursuit of glory, whose charms this sage tutor may be said to have resigned to the impetuous desires of his pupil. This education, as may be easily imagined, had inspired Don Carlos with an extraordinary friendship for the Emperor, his grandfather; and any attempt to tarnish the honour of this illustrious shade, was attacking the Prince in the most tender part.

Don John, and the Prince of Parma, interested also in this glorious memory, were no less exasperated. They blamed the King's weakness, in not opposing the insolence of the Inquisitors with all the vigour they could have wished, and thence conceived such a contempt of him, as ended only with their lives. Being too young to understand, that the most absolute sovereigns have no rights so sacred, in the eyes of the people, as those of religion, they spoke openly of the Inquisition, with all that keenness which persons of their rank could feel in so just a cause; and they threatened to exterminate both the Holy Office and its abettors. The people, who were informed of these fallies of passion, through the
artifice

artifice of the Inquisitors, and who had beheld nothing of this kind since their establishment, discovered great resentment on the occasion. The King saw immediately the consequences of their indignation. But knowing, that the Prince had been so far transported as to censure his own conduct, he declined speaking to him himself, lest he should receive some disrespectful answer. Rui Gomez was entrusted with this commission, which he discharged with all the vigour that the importance of the affair required. Don John and the Prince of Parma, who had naturally more command of themselves than Don Carlos, yielded to his remonstrances. As ambition was their ruling passion, they were exceedingly vexed at having thrown such a considerable bar in the way of their fortune, as incurring the hatred of the Inquisitors, and that of the people, its attendant. The Prince, on the contrary, whose temper was inflamed by difficulties, could not perceive wherein he was wrong. In the mean time, Dr Caçalla was burnt alive, with an effigy, representing Constantine Ponce, who died a few days before in prison. The King was constrained to suffer this execution, in order to obtain the consent of the Holy Office, that the Archbishop of Toledo might appeal to Rome, and that the Emperor's will should be no more mentioned. This accommodation appeased Don Carlos ; but
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it did not appease the Inquisitors. As these men never forgive, they excited such loud murmurs among the populace, that the King, after all the care he employed, could not silence the clamour, but by removing the Princes for some time.

The University of Alcala was then in its highest glory, and all people of note, who travelled through Spain, visited this excellent seat of learning. The King gave out, that the Princes had the same curiosity; and hastened their journey, because the Prince of Parma was soon to depart, under the conduct of Count Egmont, to be married in Flanders. When Don Carlos learned this resolution, and found that he must leave the Queen, he began to perceive the abyss into which he had plunged himself; and the interest of his love wrung from his soul that regret for his conduct, which neither a concern for his safety, nor for his dignity, could have extorted. The King, who could not part with Rui Gomez, obliged Count Egmont to take the place of this favourite with the Princes, during their journey to Alcala.

The Count was one of the most accomplished officers of his age. He was covered with laurels acquired in the last war, at the battles of St Quintin and Gravelines; and of so many great men formed in the school of Charles V. none enjoyed a higher degree of that Emperor's esteem.

steem. The Duchess of Parma, foreseeing the storm that afterwards arose in the provinces entrusted by the King, her brother, to her government, judged it proper that a representation should be made to him of the inconveniencies to be apprehended from his innovations attempted in this country. This business required a man of Count Egmont's rank and profession, accustomed to speak to Princes with that noble freedom which is so useful to them, and is attainable by so few. Don Carlos, who was naturally fond of extraordinary men, prevailed upon the Count to relate, upon the road, the history of the last battle where he had commanded. The Count, delighted with his curiosity, fully gratified it; and Don Carlos discovered great impatience to be in a situation to perform such achievements as he had just now heard. He assured Count Egmont, that, should the disturbances in Flanders come to an open war, as the Regent seemed to apprehend, nothing should prevent his repairing to the provinces, to learn his profession under him.

The journey of the Princes was not long. The city of Alcala presented Don Carlos with a horse of great value; but as furious as he was beautiful. The Prince desiring to see him managed, was not pleased with any who rode him, and therefore mounted himself. The horse, whose mouth was already much chafed, fired with met-
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tle by the Prince's pushing him on a little, flew away with such fury, that Don Carlos judged it expedient to throw himself upon the ground; but effected it so unluckily, that he remained for dead upon the spot; and, though he came to himself some hours after, yet, when the physicians had examined a wound received in his head, they despaired of his life. In this extremity, he despatched his favourite, the Marquis de Posa, to carry his last farewell to the Queen. The Princess d'Eboli waited upon her on the first rumour of this accident, to see how it would be received. Unprepared for such a severe trial, the Queen's caution forsook her on this news; and, though her mouth, so accustomed to restraint, did not vent her grief by complaints, yet her silence and depression discovered more than any words could possibly express. But how great soever her distress, there had always been observed such a friendship between her and Don Carlos, that it occasioned no surprise. The Princess d'Eboli, however, who understood nothing so well as love, could not conceive that the Queen's despair proceeded from nothing more than friendship. The people, in the mean time, still inflamed by the Inquisitors, shewed no regret for this misfortune. They considered it as a manifest punishment from Heaven on the impiety of Don Carlos.

The Queen, thinking that she had no occasion for farther reserve, could not deny herself the sad consolation of acquainting the Prince with the melancholy state in which he left her. She wrote to him all the tender and affecting things which despair or friendship could inspire ; and despatched the Marquis de Posa with orders instantly to bring back her letter, if he did not reach Alcala before the death of Don Carlos. This letter filled the Prince's soul with such an extraordinary effusion of joy, that it restored him to life. Whenever he was out of danger, the King caused him to be brought to Madrid, thinking that the resentment of the populace would now be appeased by this cruel adventure. The first time the Queen saw Don Carlos, she demanded her letter. But, in spite of every effort to recover it, the Prince, to whom this proof of her affection was dearer than the life it had restored, persisted always in keeping this epistle, little thinking it must one day decide his fate.

Upon his return, he found the Queen pregnant, which provoked his jealousy to such a degree, and occasioned such wild and unreasonable complaints, that any other person except herself would have believed he had lost his reason. Whilst he was beginning to recover, she was brought to bed of the illustrious Archduchess of Flanders, the heiress of her wit and beauty, as well

well as of her name. Soon after, she was taken dangerously ill of the small-pox ; but the prayers of the people were so powerful, that she came out of this disease not only with better health, but also more beautiful than before*. Don Carlos had scarce time to congratulate her on this event, before she was obliged to set out for Bayonne, where the court of France was arrived to receive her, and where the charms of her conversation, and the prudence of her conduct, excited no less admiration in their minds, than her beauty occasioned perturbation in their hearts. The Prince beheld, with inexpressible grief, the various obstructions, that, one after another, occurred to interrupt his intercourse with the Queen, when this last journey, after which he imagined nothing was to be feared, involved them in an affair, which destroyed the pleasure of their future lives, by endless obstacles.

Jane d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, and widow of King Anthony, had, for some time time past, declared herself in favour of the Reformed religion. This Princess governed her subjects with a piety exemplary to all her sect, and such justice as had perhaps never appeared in a King's court. Her son, whom she educated in the same persuasion, was now considered by the Protestants in France as their protector. The Spaniards, seeing

* Brantome, in his Discourse on this Queen.

ing that the pretensions of this family to the higher Navarre devolved upon this Prince, who was brought up in a hereditary enmity against them, embittered by difference of religion, and supported by a party so formidable as the Hugonots then were, in order to rid themselves of those fears, resolved to seize the young Prince, the Queen his mother, and the Princess, his sister, in the midst of their own dominions, to carry them into Spain, and to deliver them into the hands of the Inquisition *. The chiefs of the Catholic party in France, who held a correspondence with the Duke of Alva, in order to deprive the Hugonot party of so considerable a support as that of this house, joyfully engaged to contribute whatever should depend on them for the fortunate issue of this enterprise.

Captain Dominic, a famous miscreant, and native of Bern, was appointed to the execution of this plot, on account of his perfect knowledge of the country. A party of the troops then waiting at Barcelona for a favourable wind to Barbary, was to advance as far as l'arragona. From this city, it was easy to conduct privately, through the mountains, a considerable body of horse, to surprise the Queen and her children at Pau in Bern, where they resided almost without any other guard than the affections of their subjects.

* Monsieur de Thou.

jects. But the high destiny of this young Prince rendered abortive this execrable, though well concerted attempt. It preserved him to be one day the deliverer of France, and the terror of Spain.

Short time before the journey to Bayonne, Captain Dominic, assisted by some French governors on the frontier, dependents of his employers, had concerted every thing in these parts necessary for his design. He then repaired to Spain, to receive the Duke of Alva's orders for putting in motion the troops appointed for the execution. The Duke, then at Alva, after some conversation, sent him back to the King, who held a convention of the estates at Mouzon. On his way thither, the Captain fell dangerously ill, and was obliged to stop at Madrid, through which he must necessarily pass. During his illness, he was supplied with every thing by a French domestic of the Queen, who was his countryman. At a loss how to testify his gratitude, he happened one day to say, that his life was of far greater consequence than it seemed, and that the care taken of it would be some time nobly rewarded. These words were pronounced with an air, which made it be conjectured that they had some extraordinary meaning; and they inspired his friend with curiosity to penetrate into the mystery they concealed. The Captain
could

could refuse nothing to a man, to whom he believed himself indebted for his life. Whether it was, that the fear of death had touched him with remorse for his crime, or that his illness had disordered his reason, he repayed, with his secret, the services he had received. The same day, this friend communicated it to the Queen, who was at Madrid, and who lived in the closest habits of friendship with the Queen of Navarre. She could not refrain weeping at the recital of this horrible conspiracy ; and, while the Captain recovered, and finally regulated with the King his measures relative to this undertaking, she caused notice to be given of it in Bern, and at Bourdeaux, where the Queen, her mother, then was. The enterprize having, by this means, failed, the Queen, conducted by the Duke of Alva, went to join the court of France at Bayonne.

This court was divided into two factions, almost as hostile to each other as both were to the Hugonots, their common enemies. Though both Catholics, one of them particularly arrogated to itself that character. It was that whereof the Duke of Alva's friends, the first authors of the conspiracy of Bern, were the leaders. As they had already begun to form the basis of that league which appeared ten years after, they lived in the closest union with the Spaniards. This was

was by no means the case with the other party, which was that of the King, and at the head of which was the Queen-Mother, Catherine de Medicis. Independence was the sole object of this Lady's conduct. Sensible that all close connections with the Spaniards were slavish, she had no farther confidence in the King, her son-in-law, and his ministers, than decency required. Notwithstanding her reserve, as the Duke of Alva's accomplices had familiar intercourse with her in other intrigues, they employed so many engines at this interview at Bayonne, and they placed so many spies around her, that they at last assuredly knew that it was the Queen of Spain who had defeated their undertaking. But they could never learn how it came to her knowledge.

The Duke of Alva could scarce believe that a young woman was capable of so bold and hazardous a stroke. Knowing Don Carlos's natural enmity to him, he had always dreaded his friendship with the Queen. He concluded, therefore, that she had done nothing but in concert with the Prince; and, as no pain is more cutting than that of being guilty of an enormous crime, which has no effect, he formed such a vigorous resolution of revenge against them, as proved at last successful. Don Carlos, however, was entirely ignorant of this conspiracy before the journey to Bayonne: But, after it transpired,

pired, the Queen acknowledged to him its truth. Struck with horror at such an attempt, the Prince could not forbear saying, before Don John and the Princess d'Eboli, that he would, one day, severely punish those who gave the King such infamous counsels †. Alva was universally known as the author of the conspiracy; the King could do nothing without Rui Gomez; thus, these two ministers alone could be included in these menaces; and the Princess d'Eboli having communicated them to her husband, this favourite judged it time to fortify himself against the authority which the Prince now began to derive from his age.

These two ministers shared equally the favour of the court, with this difference, that the Duke of Alva might be called the favourite of the King, and Rui Gomez the favourite of Philip. This interference had sometimes created misunderstandings between them; but their common interest united them on this occasion.

The Duke of Alva, who was sole minister for the military department, knowing the Prince's warlike genius, was afraid lest his own influence should be shaken, on the first opportunity of a war, by Don Carlos desiring that the management of it should be conferred upon himself. He was also convinced, that the Prince would never forgive him an affair which had hap-

† Mayerne Turquet, in his history of Spain.

happened between them some years before. The King had assembled the states of Arragon to have his son recognised as his lawful successor to the crowns of Spain. When, in this ceremonial, they were come to the rank wherein the Duke of Alva was to swear allegiance, the herald called his name three times in vain. Immediately after, he appeared, out of his rank, under pretence of discharging his duty, when Don Carlos repulsed him with resentment. But the Duke pleading, as his apology, the extraordinary business in which his office of Master of the Household that day necessarily engaged him, the King obliged the Prince to accept his acknowledgement †.

With respect to Rui Gomez, as he had the entire management of civil affairs, and of the finances, he was afraid, lest the Prince, who was naturally liberal, should afterwards meddle in bestowing favours, wherein others would have no further merit than that of executing his orders. He had been tutor to Don Carlos; and could not please the King, whose creature he was in this office, but by treating the Prince with the same rigour with which he was treated by the King himself.

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As

† Cabrera, in his history of Philip II.



As this severe behaviour was the true source of the aversion Don Carlos conceived for his father, it is necessary to mention a few instances of it, though, perhaps, somewhat low and puerile. When Don Carlos had scarce attained the years of reason, the Queen of Bohemia, his aunt, who then lived in Spain, caused his favourite page be severely chastised for a very slight fault. The Prince being, even then, of very strong passions, complained of it to her with much heat; and the Princess, threatening to have him whipped, if he was not silent, Don Carlos, to whom no higher affront could be offered than to be treated as a child, was so enraged at this menace, that he gave her a blow on the face. The moment she left him, he became sensible of his conduct; and was in extreme uneasiness, when his Steward appeared before him drowned in tears. The Prince, suspicious, in his present situation, of unusual objects, having inquired into the cause of his grief, was informed, that his father had learned his crime, and had condemned him to death. Those present observed, that he received this news with surprise, but without discovering any other sign of fear, than asking, whether he could not obtain a pardon. Some went to ask it, and returned immediately to inform him, that it was granted; but, on condition of his losing the hand with which he struck

struck the Queen. 'It would make a fine figure,' exclaimed he, abruptly, 'to see a mutilated King.' They remonstrated to him, that he was very lucky; and that he should acquiesce in this punishment. But one of the company having represented to him in private, that, if he submitted to some chastisement, his father might perhaps be softened; he relished this advice, and sent for Cardinal Spinola to come and whip him, to which he would not otherwise have submitted †. Some years after, upon his recovery from a fit of sickness, the King having severely reprimanded him in private, Don Carlos, who thought himself unjustly blamed, was so sensibly affected by what his father had said, that he relapsed instantly into the fever ‡.

By so harsh an education, the Prince had been accustomed to contradiction in all his opinions and inclinations. As he was entirely of an opposite disposition to his father, his behaviour was seldom agreeable to the King. This consideration had often obliged Rui Gomez to insist, that he should be removed from under his tuition. He was afraid lest the King, like most fathers, should at last impute to him the little satisfaction he had in his son. But this favourite did
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† Hugo Blofius, a Flemish lawyer, in his *Acroma*.

‡ *Dicos y Echos de Philippe II.*

not understand, that people of his master's character, who think highly of their discernment, and value themselves on their firmness, would a thousand times rather condemn their children, than the man of their choice ; and are less afraid of appearing unhappy in their family, than mistaken in their judgment.

Rui Gomez observing the King's obstinacy in this matter, had used Don Carlos with all imaginable severity, as if to vindicate himself from the young Prince's impropriety of conduct. Hence he concluded, that he had every thing to fear from his pupil's resentment ; and, being importuned by his wife, who, under pretence of consulting her husband's safety, only revenged her own slighted favours, he made all possible advances to induce the Duke of Alva to unite with him against Don Carlos ; and, therefore, informed the Duke of the Prince's threatenings.

What degree soever of zeal the Princess d'Eboli discovered in this affair, her husband, to whom her eagerness was always suspicious, did not think proper to entrust her with the secret. Nor did she, on the other hand, impart to him all the knowledge of which she imagined herself possessed, with respect to the connection between Don Carlos and the Queen. But Rui Gomez, who was of a shrewd understanding, reflecting
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upon what she had said, soon guessed the rest. Whatever idea he tried to form of this intimacy, he could obtain no adequate one apart from love. A thousand things, to which he had not attended when they happened, now recurred to his memory. He recollected having remarked, that, when the Queen was mentioned in presence of Don Carlos, he looked at those who spoke of her, as if afraid of their observing him during the time, and as if what they said were only to try him. On other occasions, when the whole company seemed to outvie each other in praises of the Queen, Don Carlos, in his turn, did not extoll her so highly as the rest. Yet, when he could not avoid speaking of her, he was always afraid of saying too little; and his mouth, unaccustomed to disguise the sentiments of his heart, performed, but awkwardly, an office to which it was a stranger. Rui Gomez considered further, that, though the Prince discovered no regard for the ladies in general, yet he always appeared before the Queen with a gentleness and complaisance that never failed him, and which made him entirely another person to those who knew his temper. In fine, it was not hard to believe, that the surprising beauty of this Princess, from which the most insensible were obliged to turn away their sight, and against which the wisest and oldest courtiers could

could scarce defend their reason, had made on the heart of a young Prince, who saw her familiarly every day, the same impression which it had made on all others.

Rui Gomez was farther confirmed in his opinion, when he communicated it to the Duke of Alva, from whom he thought duty obliged him not to conceal it. As it often happens, when a secret affair has been discovered in part, that the desire of knowing the whole excites conjecture, they began to suspect that the Queen returned the passion of Don Carlos. This passion at first gratified their hatred. It gave them a momentary pleasure, to be possessed of an infallible expedient of avenging themselves upon the Prince, by discovering his love to his father. But, reflecting afterwards on the King's jealous temper, and governing passions, considering also the strange extremities to which he would probably be carried, they were struck with horror. However formidable an enemy they had in Don Carlos, they did not dream of attacking his life; nor did they believe themselves ever capable of entertaining such an idea. None become abandoned all at once. There are few minds that can resolve upon a great crime when first it presents itself in thought. It is only by degrees that men become proficient in vice as well as in virtue.

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These two ministers dreaded, above all things, the Queen's prepossessing her husband with respect to the affair of Bern, so as afterwards to preclude his belief of the truth. They imagined, that, in his anxiety to know how this plot had been detected, he would adopt the first opinion that should be offered. Chagrined by its ill success, he no longer looked upon the Duke of Alva with the same favourable eye; and, perhaps, he secretly meditated his public disgrace, in order to clear himself from the blame of this conspiracy. A discovery of the truth could alone ward off this blow. But, as the object of this discovery was to convince the King, that the Duke of Alva was no way to blame in the failure of this enterprise, the Duke thought it improper to speak in his own vindication. Rui Gomez was scarce less suspected, having been almost equally concerned. They concluded, therefore, that some other person was necessary to do them this service; and knowing none so proper as the Secretary of State, Antonio Perez, they resolved to engage him in their councils.

As this man had no particular interest in hurting either the Prince or the Queen, he seemed difficult to be gained. Rui Gomez, however, confiding in his own address, undertook to accomplish the point; and found it much easier than

than he expected. Perez was passionately fond of the Princess d'Eboli, and hitherto without the least success. He, therefore, instantly asked, whether she was in the secret? and finding she knew nothing of it, he came under every requisite engagement to comply with their demands. This artful lover knew the curiosity of the Princess. He did not doubt, that she would be vexed at being excluded from a cabal of this importance; and that her gratitude would refuse nothing to the man who should admit her into the secret. Rui Gomez hastened to the Duke of Alva to give him an account of his negociation; perfectly overjoyed in its success, and happy in having furnished his wife's admirer with the infallible means of corrupting her virtue. Perez knew so well how to enhance, with this beauty, the value of his secret, that he made her purchase it on his own terms.

In the mean time, the Queen, who proved with child on her return from Bayonne, was brought to bed of the Infanta Catharine-Michelle, her second daughter, who was afterwards Duchess of Savoy. The ministers, sensible what ascendancy the Queen's beauty had over the mind of her husband, thought it proper to seize the time of her lying in to justify the Duke of Alva, that the King might have leisure to form
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some resolution upon the discoveries they should make, before he could again see the Queen in private. The charge which Perez had of foreign affairs, gave him frequent opportunity of seeing the King alone. Next day, therefore, at a fit time, he introduced a conversation concerning the conspiracy of Bern, because it was known, that the Queen of France discovered very high resentment on that account, and avenged it by favouring the insurgents in Flanders, who were now in the first paroxysm of their fury. He instantly acknowledged, that, however much his duty, he had long hesitated to inform his Majesty of what he knew concerning the miscarriage of this affair: But, after more mature consideration, he thought it criminal to remain any longer silent. He then faithfully related what the Duke of Alva had learned at Bayonne of the manner of its detection. He added the conversation of Don Carlos upon this business before Don John and the Princess d'Eboli, against those who had been accessory to it: And he concluded, by beseeching his Majesty to forgive his having hitherto suppressed these circumstances, as they could not be revealed without, in some degree, offending against the two persons who, next to the King himself, ought to be most sacred to his subjects.

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The King was thrown into extreme agony by this representation. Though still unsuspicious of the Queen, yet his love suggested a strange union of sentiments between her and Don Carlos in this affair. His soul, possessed by this first emotion of jealousy, regarded, with indifference, their attack on his authority ; and a concern for his grandeur, so natural to him on other occasions, yielded for once to a sensation more poignant and delicate. He then, for the first time, remarked his son's great attention to his wife ; and he recollected, that they had long been designed for each other. But, soon recovering himself, and reflecting on the Queen's virtue and courage, he totally condemned such weak suspicions.

She had already given other proofs of the love she retained for her native country. When the dispute concerning precedency between the two crowns was, some time before, decided in favour of France, she could not entirely dissemble her joy on the occasion. Her Lady of Honour, attempting to persuade her that she ought rather to feel for her husband's disappointment on this event, the Queen replied, that, as she was no way surprised at the King's vexation, he ought to be as little surprised at her joy ; and that, for her own part, she was very well satisfied with the world's knowing, that the family of which she
was

was descended was superior to that with which she was allied *.

The King, by reflecting on this conversation, was fully persuaded that her exertions against the conspiracy of Bern proceeded from the same principle of affection towards her relations; and he considered the horror which Don Carlos, emulating the Queen, had expressed against this plot, as the generosity of a young man. Though he meant to be perfectly easy on this point, yet he resolved to bring to light their future intercourse, not suspecting any other jealousy in this resolution than what he owed to his authority. He made great changes in the most considerable places at court, that, without any appearance of design in this arrangement, the principal offices in the Queen's household might fall into the hands of the Princess d'Eboli. The familiarity which this Lady preserved with Don Carlos, ever since her husband had been his governor, rendered her the fittest person to penetrate into his secrets. This consideration, joined to that of her having already told the threatenings he had uttered in her presence, contributed as much as Rui Gomez's favour, to make the King select her for this employment.

Don Carlos, who imagined, after what had formerly passed between them, that he was still
beloved

* Father Hilarion de Coste, in his Eulogium on this Queen.

beloved by her, took no offence at this innovation. But the Queen, who knew that her husband had too many friends in France to be ignorant of the part she had acted, was not blinded by these changes. She immediately understood the cause of them; and, as Don Carlos endeavoured to make her easy, by answering for the Princess d'Eboli, the Queen urged him to discover the ground of this great confidence in her. But his modesty never would allow him to satisfy this inquiry. Upon seeing with what assiduity the Princess d'Eboli watched them, he was thoroughly convinced of his mistake. As he durst not show his uneasiness occasioned by her presence, she enjoyed his sufferings with incredible pleasure. She professed more friendship for him than ever. She attended the Queen with the greatest punctuality when he was present, as if attracted by his company. But, though her vigilance was extreme, the Queen and Don Carlos soon found an opportunity of conversing together in private.

The King, who was intent upon his Escorial, to a degree that may be easily supposed, from the prodigious treasure expended on it, invited the Queen to see the beginning of this superb building, erecting as a perpetual monument of the victory of St Quintin. Whatever renewed in the soul of this Princess the remembrance of a
battle

battle which had been the source of the misfortunes of her life, could afford her but little pleasure. Nevertheless, she beheld, with all the gaiety and eagerness which the King could desire, or he himself discover, the preparations making to immortalize that fatal day. It was here that the Princess d'Eboli left the Queen and Prince alone with the King; and that, he having also left them to give some orders to his architects, Don Carlos, who could no longer live under such constraint, availing himself of this moment, conjured the Queen to give him some sure means of speaking with her in private, when it should be necessary for their common interests. In such an affecting manner did he urge his request, that, seduced by the despair of this unhappy Prince, she immediately consented. They then set about contriving the means. But they all appeared so dangerous to the Queen, that she determined against employing them, however practicable they were represented by Don Carlos.

Affairs were in this situation, when the Marquis de Berg, and the Baron de Montigni, deputies from Flanders, arrived at court. As their commission was of a very dangerous nature, their hopes rested chiefly upon the Prince's character for generosity, and the Queen's innate goodness. To be unfortunate was a sufficient
claim

claim to the protection of this Princess; and to have virtue, was a powerful recommendation to Don Carlos. The deputies represented the deplorable state of the Flemish nobility, ever since the bad services done them with the King, by the Cardinal de Granvelle, Prime Minister to the Regent. They magnified their innocence and fidelity on the past commotions. They particularly implored the Prince not to abandon so many brave servants of the Emperor, and the most endearing objects of his affection, to the violent and precipitate counsels, which jealousy of their virtue, and envy of their glory, had excited in the Duke of Alva. They assured him, that the fame of his bravery was their only consolation amidst their misfortunes.

Don Carlos, whose passion for war had been hitherto suspended by the violence of his love, was, when he heard this representation, much ashamed of having as yet done nothing to acquire glory. He was still farther aroused by Count Egmont's letters, delivered him by the deputies. The Count called upon the Prince to fulfill his former promises to him, of repairing to Flanders, as soon as the war should break out there. He represented the posture of affairs in the provinces, as so favourable for Don Carlos, that the Prince resolved to obtain the government. He hoped, that there he would soon be
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able to gratify the dictates of his valour and ambition, after having allayed the popular ferment by his presence.

Scarce had he formed this resolution, when the Queen's image, more enchanting than ever, presented itself to his fancy more beautiful, and made him greatly doubt whether he should have power to leave her. But, after serious reflection on the situation of his affairs, he found every thing concurring to confirm him in his first design.

The extreme youth of this Princess had, in the beginning of their intimacy, prevented her concealing from Don Carlos her esteem and pity for him. But, having acquired knowledge from time, she saw, that the marks of her friendship towards him, however innocent in themselves, served only to inflame his love. She represented to him, on every occasion, the consequences of this passion, and the dangers to which it exposed them. However much infatuated by it, he could not deny that she judged properly, nor presume to be offended because she every day lived with him in greater reserve. In such cruel agitation of mind, he thought himself obliged to make a generous effort; in order to relieve the Princess from an unhappy passion, the source of such just uneasiness, and that he could in no way so effectually disengage himself, as by long absence, and
great

great employments. This was his first determination. But his opinion was greatly changed by the Queen's presence. When he reflected on the pleasure of seeing her, he felt the impossibility of resolving to live without it. Impressed with these sentiments, he acquainted her with what had passed between the deputies and him, and with the purpose he had formed. He asked her pardon a thousand times for having indulged, but for a few moments, the thought of living at a distance from her. But the Queen, solicitous only to cure his passion, obliged him, notwithstanding, to pursue the design of his expedition into Flanders. The more readily to persuade him to this step, she observed, that this journey would dispel the King's chagrin upon account of their intimacy ; that, being thus less observed after his return, being more respected, and more independent by the glory which he would infallibly acquire, they could live together with much less uneasiness. Don Carlos, persuaded by these reasons, but much more by his implicit attachment to the Queen, declared loudly in favour of the nobility of the Low Countries, to the great offence of the Inquisitors, who considered almost all of them as heretics, and who had not yet forgotten the affair of Charles V.'s will. He caused the King to be informed, that, if he would bestow on him the government of these provinces,

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he would answer with his head for their obedience.

It is difficult to express how much Rui Gomez and the Duke of Alva were alarmed by this design. Their inevitable ruin appeared involved in the authority, which an employment of this importance must confer on the heir of the crown. They concluded, that, on his return from this expedition, wherein success was certain, the Prince would be his father's prime minister, and that they would be only his dependents. The Duke of Alva, especially, having the same pretensions with Don Carlos, obliged Rui Gomez, who was more familiar with the King, to represent to him how much this enterprise would raise his son above himself in the eyes of the Flemish. Perez, without the least appearance of concert, gave him also to understand, that Don Carlos would certainly, through the Queen's interest, form a close connection with France, were he once master of the Low Countries. These counsels made every possible impression on the mind of a Prince, naturally jealous of his authority; and, alarmed by the ambition of his son, the King thought of nothing farther, but how to refuse him with a good grace, and so as to prevent his being affronted by the denial. He caused him to be informed that he granted his request; and that he was extremely happy the

same idea had occurred to both ; but he would go himself to settle him in Flanders, and they should soon set out together for this purpose : That it would be dishonourable in him to remain in safety in Spain, while he exposed his only son to all the accidents of a furious rebellion ; and, that he would share with him the danger, and then leave him in possession of the glory.

By the King's preparations to deceive Don Carlos, the report of this journey was soon spread abroad, but without gaining the least credit. In the mean time, however groundless in appearance, it struck terror into the minds of the rebels, which had been hitherto irresolute. To give it greater strength, the King was at such considerable expence in equipments, that even the deputies Berg and Montigni, who till now had laughed at it, could no longer disbelieve. The Queen and Don Carlos were, like others, imposed on for a little time ; but were very soon undeceived. After the equipments were finished, the King, sensible that, without his departure, the deception was over, and destitute of any farther excuse for delay, feigned himself sick. This pretence had almost the desired effect in remote countries. But, in spite of every endeavour to make the report believed at court, and of every constraint this unhappy Prince im-
posed

posed on himself to live in a manner conformable to the opinion he wished to impress, he could not deceive his wife and son.

At this juncture, one day, after a numerous company, who had waited on the Queen, and conversed long upon the King's journey to Flanders, had retired, Don Carlos, Don John, and the Princess d'Eboli being left alone with her, began to remark how courtiers often torture themselves with conjectures on the causes and effects of what is never to happen. After laughing at those who spoke of the journey, Don Carlos came insensibly to laugh at the journey itself, and at the constraint the King suffered in counterfeiting his sickness. He observed, that Charles V. had travelled enough for himself and the King his son, and that the King should take repose for himself and his father. These expressions were not heard by the Queen, who was obliged to speak in private with some people on business. Mean time, while Don John and the Princess d'Eboli were conversing softly together, the Prince, in a frolic, made a little book of some paper which he found in a box; upon the first leaf of which, he wrote, in large characters, 'The great and wonderful travels of King Philip.' Upon each page of the book he wrote one of the following titles: 'The journey from Madrid to the Escorial; the journey
' from

‘ from the Escorial to Toledo ; from Toledo to
‘ Madrid ; from Madrid to Aranjuez ; from A-
‘ ranjuez to the Pardo ; from the Pardo to the
‘ Escorial.’ In this manner he filled up the
whole book with the King’s travels to his plea-
sure-houses, and the principal towns in Spain *.
The Queen could not forbear laughing at this
fancy of the Prince, however dangerous it ap-
peared. But, whilst she read this paper, notice
was brought, that the King had fallen into a
swoon, and was very ill. She had only time,
on this news, to recommend to Don Carlos to
take care of the book. The Prince, in haste to
follow her, satisfied himself with throwing it into
a small closet, and shutting the door behind
him.

Ignorant that the Princess d’Eboli had false
keys to every door belonging to the Queen, the
Prince was scarcely gone out, when she got hold
of his writing. Upon observing its nature, she
was transported with joy to be possessed of so
considerable a mean of ruining him with the
King. The first object of her attention was,
how she might retain the paper without disco-
very. She was convinced that the Queen un-
derstood its importance, and would search for it
whenever she returned. Without, therefore, lo-
sing an instant, she got made a little book, in all
respects

* Brantome, in Philip II.

respects like to that of Don Carlos, and with the same contents. She had the Prince's hand-writing exactly counterfeited, and laid the false book in room of the original, which she gave to her husband. The Queen having, on her return, found this forged writing in the place mentioned by Don Carlos, was in such haste to burn it, that she threw it into the fire almost without looking into it ; and never suspected this deceit.

In the mean time the King's faint was become a reality. Upon the return of the swoon, he found himself in a high fever, which proved a regular tertian. But his illness was less believed after it became real, than while it was pretended. The rebels in Holland no longer doubted, from the duration of this report, that it was one of the King's political strokes. By this persuasion, they were led to prosecute their designs with greater violence than ever. This news at once increased the King's vexation and his fever. Don Carlos, seeing that his importunities to be sent into Flanders would only disquiet him more, declined renewing them. But his father, who did not think him so considerate, and who observed him incessantly near him, construed his attendance into a silent sollicitation.

There were other reasons for this assiduity. The Queen never left her sick husband ; and Don Carlos could see her no where else. But,

as they behaved in his Majesty's presence with the greatest caution, and durst scarce speak together, Don Carlos suffered much by this restraint, which was extremely prejudicial to their interest. They had many counsels to impart, many measures to concert in so difficult a conjuncture. There was no appearance of the King's speedy recovery ; and the physicians had declared, that his indisposition would be tedious.

The Queen and Don Carlos, considering how dangerous it would be to write to each other, resolved to choose some person of fidelity, by whom they might mutually communicate their sentiments. The Prince, believing that his uncle Don John was their sure friend, turned his thoughts toward him for the honour of this trust. But the Queen imagined that she had often observed something in this uncle's eyes expressive of love : She had also remarked a degree of complaisance in the Princess d'Eboli to Don John, which indicated a good understanding between them. These considerations obliged the Queen to make Don Carlos change his plan, but without assigning her reasons. The Prince had not ventured to propose his favourite the Marquis de Posa, because she was not so well acquainted with him as with Don John. This favourite was the most accomplished of all the young

young noblemen, educated as pages of honour to the Princes. Though full of vivacity, he possessed that happy temperament of mind, which is equally capable of vigour and of moderation. The discerning spirit of Don Carlos had early observed in him a vein of sense not frequent amongst young people. The Marquis was equally delighted with the ardour discovered by the Prince for every thing great or honourable. Thus was formed an alliance between a Prince and a courtier, no less strong than rare, being founded on mutual esteem. As no character is more dangerous to wear in a court than that of favourite of the heir of the crown, the Marquis had entreated Don Carlos to discover, as little as possible, the confidence with which he was pleased to honour him. Though thus living together in the greatest intimacy, it was without any other appearance, except that the Prince found his conversation more agreeable than that of others; and all the world found the same thing. The secret they made of their friendship rendered this favourite the most proper person to serve the views of the Queen and Don Carlos on this occasion. His attachment to the Prince being thus unknown, his conversation with the Queen would be less liable to suspicion. But, sensible that Don Carlos might be easily deceived, she was determined to examine the Mar-

quis

quis de Posa herself, before admitting him to her confidence. Under pretence of some order which she gave him, the first time they met in the King's apartments, she found means to engage him in a private conversation. She was perfectly delighted with his discretion: Nor was he less so with the Queen's sense: And, upon no occasion was his natural moderation more useful to him. By the manner in which the Princess disclosed her sentiments in this conversation, supported by the lustre of her beauty, and her attractive sweetness, any other man, less master of himself, must have been inflamed with love. But, though he escaped this fate, it was impossible to prevent, in their future intercourse, their conceiving for each other all that esteem and friendship which they both deserved.

Often afraid that our secret thoughts are discovered, we never fear being suspected of such as have no existence. The Queen, who studied to conceal those of Don Carlos toward her, and who indulged none improper toward the Marquis de Posa, did not, however, dissemble these with sufficient care. She had not the remotest idea of being suspected of such as were criminal for this favourite. The Marquis, to make suitable returns to her goodness, was often led to express more zeal for her than was proper to discover.

cover. As both had enemies, this conduct soon made a noise ; but, conscious how groundless it was, and confiding in their own innocence, they totally disregarded it.

In the mean time, the King recovered, and the Queen became pregnant. This event gave him, at first, great joy ; whether it was in the hopes of having another son beside Don Carlos, or whether he was still doubtful with respect to his health, he thought this a certain proof of its entire re-establishment. But this happiness was very momentary. The ministers, dreading the secret influence of the Marquis de Posa, took care that the Queen's intercourse with him soon came to the knowledge of the King. The mind of this suspicious Prince was immediately distracted with jealousy ; and, not satisfied with regard to some computation of time, which he thought proper to make, concerning his wife's pregnancy, he readily believed the Marquis guilty of a crime †, which would have procured him more envy than all his virtues. This thought produced strange havock in his heart. All the graces of body and mind bestowed by Nature with so liberal a hand on this unfortunate favourite, and which would have softened the most savage heart, only rendered him more odious to the King, who considered these valuable endowments as the criminal

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† Mayerne Turquet, in his history of Spain.

charms that had seduced his wife's affection. Nevertheless, how dangerous soever the King's present temper of mind was, reason would probably have prevailed, had not an occurrence intervened at the time, which made him firmly believe what he had hitherto only suspected.

Among the rejoicings on his recovery, was a magnificent tournament, in which every gentleman was obliged to declare himself for some Lady of the court, and to bear her colours. On the eve of this festival, the Marquis de Posa happened to wait on the Queen, who was attended by a great company. She made him recite to her all the Ladies who had Knights. The Prince and Don John could alone, with propriety, declare themselves her champions. But not having done so, from the fear, perhaps, of discovering the secret of their heart, it appeared, when all the names were read over, that the Queen alone had no champion. She remarked this herself; and, complaining of it in jest, the Marquis de Posa, who could use the freedom of being merry with her, said, with wonderful gravity, that she must surely blame Nature; for, had she been as beautiful as the rest, like them, she certainly would have found a Knight. All the company applauded this raillery; when the Queen, with the same serious air, replied, that, to punish his insolence, she commanded him to be her Knight, that

that he might suffer the mortification of serving the least handsome of the whole *.

This gallantry was public, and witnessed by all the people of the first quality. But the King could not be satisfied in his mind that it implied no mystery, and that this conversation was not an artifice in the Queen, to afford her lover an opportunity of declaring himself her champion, with impunity. He was not, however, at first, absolutely fixed in this opinion. But next day, when he beheld the Marquis enter the lists, bearing, for a device, upon his shield, the sun in his highest elevation, with this motto, ‘*Nothing can look on me without being burnt,*’ he was finally confirmed in the fatal thought that had seized his soul. The unfortunate Knight carried the prize of the first course. Though this was his common practice, the King imputed his address at this time to his love; and, so sensibly was he affected by the fancy, that he could not allow the jousts to be finished. He pretended indisposition, as a pretext for interrupting them, and to hide the rage into which he was thrown by this innocent diversion.

He resolved, at first, to put to death the Marquis de Posa, in such a manner as neither he nor the Queen should be ignorant of the cause. But Rui Gomez, to whom he communicated his purpose,

* Mezeray, in his large history.

pose, made him reflect on the consequences of a procedure so conspicuous and expressive. He informed him of the strict friendship of Don Carlos for the Marquis, and that every thing was to be dreaded from the Prince's resentment for the loss of one so dear to him, should he know by whom it was occasioned. These considerations induced the King to change his design. He satisfied himself with causing the Marquis to be assassinated some time after in the streets, as he was returning one evening from court. Entirely to remove every suspicion of the truth, when the assassins saw him dead, they pretended, before his attendants, to have mistaken him for another.

The Queen felt, in its full force, the loss of so perfect a friend, and, at once, discerned all its consequences. Don Carlos did not immediately apprehend the real cause, till he afterwards reflected how improbable it was that a man so well known as the deceased should be taken for another. He reflected, besides, that none but his father durst have hazarded such a blow. He, therefore, no longer hesitated, any more than the Queen, to determine who was the author. Neither of them, however, suspected that the King was jealous of the Marquis; and, concluding what should have been, rather than what really was, they believed, that this favourite was killed

as the confident, and that they were discovered. In this persuasion, and considering the violence of the King's passion for his wife, his hatred of the Prince, and his natural propensity to shed blood, they gave themselves up for lost. They believed that the King, certain they could not escape his vengeance, chose to begin it by this murder, in order to make them suffer longer.

There is nothing so secret in courts, but what is known to persons who are never suspected. Don Carlos, about this time, sitting down one day at table, found, under his cover, a paper, containing the following words: 'There are
' counsels highly salutary, that are never given;
' but extraordinary resolutions alone can extricate from desperate affairs. They, on whom
' Heaven has bestowed talents suited to render
' many others happy, are under an obligation of
' fulfilling their destiny; an obligation superior
' to all others. The generous man falls only
' by not having a sufficiently bad opinion of the
' wicked. That patience which exposes the life
' of a worthy man to the violence of his enemies, is weakness, meanness of spirit, a crime,
' and not a virtue. Humanity, for him who
' knows none, is the most dangerous kind of
' folly.'

Before proceeding, however, to the last extremities, the Prince resolved to employ some gentle measure.

measure. This was a strenuous renewal of his former importunities to be sent into Flanders, where the situation of affairs required a more immediate and effectual remedy than ever. His requisition was in such terms as at once evinced his own inclinations, and the danger of a refusal. This peremptory explanation he judged expedient : For, if detected, he was under no farther restraint ; and, if still undiscovered, the King, stimulated by his jealousy, and intimidated by such imperious procedure, might possibly grant his demands, in order to remove him to a distance. The unhappy father, whose mind was now more at ease to discern the consequences of his son's designs, relapsed into his ordinary and natural timidity. While sensible of the indispensable necessity of sending an army into Flanders, he also dreaded awakening the resentment of Don Carlos, still warmly felt for the death of his friend, by refusing him the command of this army, which he demanded in so high a tone.

Rui Gomez, who found the King so firm in the affair of the Marquis, was much astonished at his irresolution, on an occasion far more important. This minister's concern for the safety of his master made him behold, with consternation, his weakness, about to put arms into the hands of his son, by which he himself would fall the first sacrifice. As nothing operates more
powerfully

powerfully than fear, to bring irresolute minds to determination, the King had almost decided in favour of Don Carlos. Rui Gomez discerned, without knowing how to counteract, this design. His readiness of mind, however, instantly suggested the Book of the King's travels, written by Don Carlos, and found by the Princess in the Queen's apartments. This he had always considered as a trifle, which, if seasonably employed, might be productive of important effects. The opportunity he thought now presented itself. He told his Majesty, that he was obliged to mention a trivial circumstance, which he had hitherto deemed unworthy of notice, but which, in the present juncture, would give him a clearer idea of his son's genius and sentiments. The King, viewing this matter in a higher light than Rui Gomez pretended to consider it, wanted to examine the book himself; and, recognising his son's hand, he sunk into a profound reverie, wherein this minister thought proper to leave him.

When the King had recovered from the first vexation of mind into which he had been thrown by a raillery so poignant, and employed by persons so dear to him, his former suspicions of Don Carlos's love for the Queen recurred with greater violence than ever. He could not conceive how a wife and a son should divert themselves at the
 expence

expenditure of a father and husband, who was their King, without living together in the most criminal familiarities. But the Marquis de Posa presenting himself immediately to his thoughts, he could not believe that the Queen was enamoured of both, especially when their intimacy was considered. He concluded, therefore, that the one must be the gallant, and the other the confidant. But, though it baffled all his efforts to determine which of the two was the lover, he was convinced, that the Marquis had suffered but too justly, and that Don Carlos was equally guilty. However this might be, he did not choose to strengthen the raillery of his son upon his manner of life, by enabling him to pursue one so different in Flanders. Since the audacity of this Prince, before he had achieved any thing, could treat his father with so much contempt, what would he not dare, if fortune should favour his ambition? The King caused him to be informed, that, in the present terrible commotions in Flanders, he could not send him thither, without exposing his life to inevitable danger; but that the Duke of Alva would soon depart with a powerful army; and the moment he rendered his party superior, he should be at liberty to follow his inclinations.

The refusal finally confirmed the Prince in his opinion, that he was doomed to destruction.

He

He yielded, therefore, to the repeated intreaties of the rebels in Holland, made by their Deputies and Count Egmont, to put himself at their head. On condition of his agreeing to a few requisitions, which were extremely reasonable, they engaged, that their obedience and fidelity to him should surpass those of the Catholics to the King. Don Carlos did not doubt, that, upon his subduing the insurgents, his father would yield him up the rest of Flanders ; were it only to prevent, what could be easily effected, his seizing upon it by force. Berg and Montigni had frequent conferences with him on this design. They concerted such proper and conclusive measures as could not fail of success, provided the Prince preserved his personal liberty, and power of acting ; which they recommended to him with the greatest earnestness. Had he listened to their advice, he would have set out immediately. But he thought it rash to declare himself in this manner, before settling the necessary correspondences. He assured them, however, that, while attending on this business, he would employ such powerful precautions as would effectually secure the safety of his person. Besides a chest, filled with fire-arms, placed under his bed-side, he caused to be made two pistols, of a new invention, and which he could always carry unobserved. To prevent being

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surprised

surprised while asleep, he ordered a famous French artist, at the Escorial, to make a lock for his apartment, which could be opened only on the inside ; and he laid two swords and two pistols every night under his bolster *.

While this unfortunate Prince accelerated, perhaps, his fate, by the mere opinion of his being already undone, his enemies neglected nothing to deprive him of every mean of reconciliation with his father. The King had not seen the Queen in private since the death of the Marquis de Posa. They were afraid that their labour was ineffectual, should he see her again ; and that she would easily efface all the impressions they had made on his heart. Though what they apprehended might not happen, yet it was not improbable ; and they were too deeply interested in the consequences to leave any thing to chance. To exclude this Princess from an opportunity of overturning, in one night, what had cost so much time and trouble, they had recourse to an expedient, which would appear highly ridiculous, had it not proved successful.

When the Court of France made a journey along the banks of the Loire, in the time of Francis II. a report was propagated, that they
fought

* Monsieur de Thou.

fought little children, in whose blood their young King was to be bathed ; and who was said to be infected with a disease which can be cured only by this monstrous application †. There were even some who preceded the Court a few days journey, and carefully examined the children where it was to pass, that they might point out such as were proper for the use of the physicians. These unknown persons spread such a general terror upon the road, that every one was employed in concealing what it was pretended they sought. The Queen Mother having detected the authors of this monstrous villany, caused some of them to be hanged. At their death, they discovered by whom they had been suborned ; but they who received their confession, did not think themselves in sufficient safety to make it public. If the King's frequent infirmities made so extravagant a calumny readily gain popular credit at home, its effect may easily be conceived in remote countries, where such news acquire greater force than on the spot where invented. The King of Spain betrayed some uneasiness on this account. He was afraid lest his wife should have a secret disposition to this distemper, which is often hereditary. The
small.

† Mayerne Turquet.—History of la Planche.—Mémoires of la Place.—M. M. of Mezerai.—la Laboureur.—Diogenes, &c.

small-pox, of which she was lately recovered, were accompanied by some equivocal symptoms apparently akin to it. They resolved to make the King believe, that much more dangerous indications of it had been discovered during her last pregnancy. As his mind was easily alarmed with respect to every thing concerning his health, they imagined that this story, if supported by some indubitable evidence, would prevent his living again with his wife in private. The Princess d'Eboli, in consequence of the fidelity she had promised in her employment in the Queen's household, was to give him the first intimation. This was to be corroborated by the French Lady, for whom Don John had formerly professed some affection. She was one of those restless spirits who are born for intrigue; and she was chagrined, because all her interest with her mistress had never procured any confidence of importance. The Princess d'Eboli desired Don John to renew his addresses to her, in order effectually to gain this dangerous person to their views. The Prince, who found a certain pleasure in disturbing the King's happiness, obeyed with zeal. But this Lady having been disgusted by his former neglect, refused to listen to him without extraordinary assurances. Don John, impatient to bring matters to an issue, did not even hesitate to give a promise of marriage,

marriage, on condition that she would tell the King whatever should be required. The affair succeeded beyond expectation. The King, whose love was now turned into indignation by what had already happened, fell blindly into the snare. Alva, who had postponed his journey, waiting for the success of this artifice, set out the day after for Flanders. He took leave of Don Carlos, in terms agreeable to the answer the Prince received to his last application. Don Carlos, on his part, treated the Duke disrespectfully, left indifference on an occasion so sensibly affecting, should have betrayed his designs.

The Prince, in the mean time, received the most agreeable news from all quarters. The Prince of Orange, and the Admiral de Chatillon, with whom he was to consult in every thing, encouraged and pressed him by their letters; whatever might be their motives, whether to serve or to destroy him. The rebels in the Netherlands, trusting entirely to his generosity, stipulated no conditions with him. But, what finally determined him was, the assurance of a considerable fleet which the Grand Seigneur was to send to the coast of Flanders, in order to second his operations. As his chief hopes rested on this aid, it is necessary to trace this negociation to its source.

When

When Mary, Queen of Hungary, was Regent of the Low Countries, for the Emperor her brother, John Miquez, a Portuguese Jew, who was high in her esteem, carried off from her court a young Lady of the first quality, and of extraordinary beauty. The ravisher having been driven out of all the Christian states where he sought refuge, by the King of Spain, who protected the parents of this beauty, he fled at length to Constantinople, and from thence into Caramania, to Selim, the eldest son of Solyman the Great †.

Confined to this country by his father, according to the custom of their family, this young Prince's sole care was to seek amusement amidst a variety of pleasure, while waiting for the succession to the empire. Amongst other talents, Miquez possessed the art of diversifying these in a thousand different ways, every one of which possessed some new and peculiar charm. He knew how to give them that fine edge which excites sensibility, and which is so easily blunted. Having, by long and diligent practice, cultivated his genius for this science, he had brought it to a degree of perfection, far above the conception of the vulgar. Elated by these singular accomplishments, he did not doubt of soon holding the first place in the favour of a Prince like Selim, who

† *Monf. de Thou.—Strada, &c.*

who understood perfectly the value of pleasure. He knew that the most important services do not always make the deepest impressions on Princes. It would seem that they consider those which are of a public nature, as sufficiently compensated by their concomitant glory ; while they themselves alone can reward such as are known only to themselves. The success exceeded Miquez's expectation; and Solyman dying about this time, the Jew, by these famous means, found himself the avowed favourite of the greatest Prince on earth. This high degree of power soon furnished an opportunity of gratifying that desire of revenge on the King of Spain, which had been so deeply impressed on his mind, by the persecution he had suffered. When engaged one day in a debauch with the Sultan, who extolled the wine of Cyprus, the Jew thought proper to rally this Prince's fondness for a liquor which was not the produce of his own empire ; and observed, that he ought to use more sparingly what could be obtained only by purchase. Touched by this raillery, Selim swore he would take Cyprus that very year ; and, clapping his hand on the Jew's shoulder, added, that, since Miquez, equally with himself, admired this superlative wine, he henceforth declared him King of the island ; and that this was only an earnest of his gratitude.

Whilst

Whilst preparations were making for this expedition, the Moors of Granada were meditating that famous insurrection which broke out soon after. They sent deputies to the Porte, imploring assistance. Miquez, preferring the pleasure of revenge to that of sovereignty itself, undertook their business with so much zeal, that it was resolved to support them with the formidable armament now equipping for the conquest of his intended kingdom. He had kept up great connections in Flanders ; and he gave immediate advice to the Consistory at Antwerp of this important diversion. This Consistory, which was the principal Council of the rebels, having received information, at the same time, that Don Carlos had engaged in their cause, imparted it to Miquez. To demonstrate farther their confidence in the Prince, they sent him the Jew's despatches and cypher, that he might negotiate himself at Constantinople, if he thought it for the common interest. Don Carlos was anxious that the fleet, which was to make a descent on the coast of Granada, should, for greater security, land on that of Flanders. He wrote to the Porte on this subject, and Miquez answered him, that the Bashaw of the Sea had a secret order to execute whatever the Prince should command ; which either was really the case, or else pretended

pretended, merely in order to engage Don Carlos at all events.

About this time he happened to be engaged one evening in play with his uncle in the Queen's apartments, when some difference arising between them, Don John, chagrined by his loss, was carried to a degree of passion against the Prince, beyond the bounds even of that liberty which play would allow him to use with the son of his King. Don Carlos, conscious of his own dignity, and with a view to remind his uncle of his duty, made a cool and laconic reply; but in terms which seemed to reproach him with the stain of his birth. Touched in so sensible a part, Don John was transported to such a degree, as to answer, that he was indeed a bastard, but with the consolation of being descended of a much superior father than the Prince himself†. Upon this reflection Don Carlos lost all patience. He treated his uncle so roughly, that it was next day reported he had struck him. The Queen and the Princess d'Eboli, who were present, with much difficulty prevented their coming to blows. The Queen was exceedingly affected, being alarmed by every thing at this conjuncture; and, as if prefiguring the consequences of this quarrel, she exerted all her authority to reconcile them upon the spot.

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† Brantome, in Philip II.

But this reconciliation was not with equal sincerity on both sides.

In order to obtain full information of every thing relative to the Queen, the King had formed a very close connection with the Princess d'Eboli. The Princess, in her turn, had obliged Don John to watch the conduct of the Prince with unremitting assiduity, ever since the death of the Marquis de Posa. It was easy for Don John to execute this commission ; for the Prince, who considered him as his best friend, had, in general terms, hinted something of his design. Though Don John had neglected nothing to investigate particulars, he had hitherto been unsuccessful. But, after their quarrel, the desire of revenge made him so quick sighted, that, in spite of all the care of the Prince to provide arms with secrecy, Don John at last discovered it, through address, and the force of money †.

The King very justly concluded, that the Prince was not employing these precautions, with the view of always employing them. He soon saw, that the Prince meditated either a flight, or some violence against his father's life. While suspended between these opinions, Don Raymond de Taxis, post-master general, came to inform him, that a French servant, belonging to
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† The history of Don John of Austria.

the Queen, had, with great secrecy, engaged three horses to set out early in the evening. This information relieved the King from one doubt, by plunging him into another still greater; namely, whether he should be satisfied with having the Prince watched so as to prevent his escape, or, whether he should cause him to be immediately arrested. But, Perez bringing, at this instant, the news of the insurrection of the Moors, which he had just received, the King, terrified by so many alarming conjunctures, resolved to make sure of the person of his son.

The departure of the Prince was indeed fixed for that very night. He had received despatches a few days before from Flanders, which did not allow him to make any farther delay. Counts Egmont and Horn, confiding in the innocence of their past conduct, and in the merit of their services, had put themselves into the power of the Duke of Alva, who had caused them to be arrested, and soon after beheaded. Such glaring treachery had overwhelmed the rebels with despair; and their leaders, seeing no farther safety but in arms, by a representation of their affairs, easily convinced Don Carlos that his assistance would soon be too late. He wrote immediately to Don Gracia Alvarez Ossorio, the intended companion of his flight, to attend him instantly. The Prince had sent him to Seville to receive a considerable

considerable sum of money ; but not having time to make the necessary despatches, he brought with him only an hundred and fifty thousand crowns †. As Don Carlos was returning from the Queen's apartments, he was joined by Rui Gomez, who, at the King's desire, gave him an account of the news received from Granada. The Prince was detained so late by this minister, that, finding there was no longer sufficient night to carry him to a proper distance, before his flight could be discovered, he thought it more eligible to delay it till next day. After having seen the Prince to bed, Rui Gomez retired ; but, being ignorant of this change of his resolution, he placed a set of faithful and resolute men at all the passages to the Prince's apartment ‡.

It was a material circumstance for the King's vindication, to seize Don Carlos attempting his escape. But, after waiting two or three hours, without his making any preparations to set out, the King resolved to proceed farther. He could not think of risking every thing for a point of formality. Don John had observed in what manner the chamber was shut ; and, while the Prince waited upon the Queen, the King made the artificer of the singular lock devise means of entangling

† Cabrera, in his history of Philip II. and of Don John.

‡ Monf. de Thou, Mayerne, &c.

tangling the spring, so as that the door might not shut so firmly, and that it might open on the outside. In spite of all the artist's skill, the lock made considerable noise in the opening. But the Count de Lerma, who, by the King's order, entered first, found the unfortunate Prince in so profound a sleep, that he removed the swords and pistols from under his bolster without awakening him. The Count then sat down on a box at the bed-side, which Don John imagined contained the fire arms. Conjecturing by the Count de Lerma's silence, that he had effected whatever was necessary, the King himself entered the room, preceded by Rui Gomez, the Duke de Feria, the commander in chief, and Don Diego de Cordova, all armed with swords and pistols. The Prince, awaked with some difficulty by Rui Gomez, exclaimed, the moment he opened his eyes, that he was a dead man. The King told him, that the present measures were for his advantage. But Don Carlos, observing him seize a casket of papers under his bed, became so desperately furious, that he attempted to throw himself, quite naked, into a large pan of fire, which had been left burning by his servants, on account of the extreme cold. It was necessary to drag him out of it by force, apparently quite inconsolable for being deprived of time to stifle himself. His chamber was immediately stripped of all its magnificent

cent furniture, the place of which was supplied only by a wretched mattress on the floor. None of his officers appeared any more in his presence. He was never out of sight of his guards. He was obliged to wear mourning, and was served by strangers in the same dress. This unhappy heir of so many crowns no longer beheld any thing which did not present him with the image of death.

The King, in the mean time, plainly discovered, from the papers he had seized, his son's designs and correspondence. He was almost overwhelmed with the view of the dangers to which he had been exposed; but how was he stung, when, amongst several letters written by the Queen, he found one that seemed, in the highest degree, passionate and tender*. It was that which the Marquis de Posa carried to Alcala, and which the Prince never would restore. As the Queen had written it in the first transports of her grief for the Prince's dangerous accident, she little suspected that any thing she might say to a man whose life was despaired of, could imply any other consequence, or produce any other effect, than to make him die with greater satisfaction. She had, therefore, given vent to all her tenderness, and had expressed the dearest and

* Matthieu, the History of France—M. de Thou, Mayerne—the History of Spain—Dupleix, &c.

and most secret feelings of her heart, with all the force which so melancholy an occasion could inspire. It was, however, without any such transport as could affect her honour, or violate her duty. But the King drew from it consequences widely different. His rage, on this account, was accompanied by an anguish so keen as would have probably cost him his life, had it not been preserved by the desire of revenge, so natural to him on such occasions. But reflecting instantly, that they who had offended him so heinously were entirely in his power, this pleasing thought made the conflict of his soul give way to a barbarous joy, and converted his preying despair into a tranquillity full of horror.

The same day, Montigni was arrested, in order to lose his head some time after upon a scaffold; and the Marquis de Berg, through favour of his old friend Rui Gomez, was allowed to take poison. The intimacy of these two noblemen with Don Carlos was universally known. Both they and he were avowed enemies of Cardinal Spinosa, the Inquisitor-General; and this enmity was sufficient, in Spain, to make them suspected in the article of religion. They blamed this Prelate, as the author of all the King's violent measures against their country. The Cardinal accused them of having imported from France several packets of Calvin's catechism, under

der cover of a passport from Don Carlos. The Inquisitors had not yet forgot the Prince's indignation against them on account of the will of Charles V. From all these circumstances, the minds of the people were much disposed to believe, that the innocent Prince was an adherent of the new doctrine, which, however, he had never heard mentioned. The King was fully sensible, that nothing but a pretence of religion could give sanction to so strange an action as he had committed; and he did not doubt, but with these favourable symptoms, and the proofs in his possession of his son's correspondence, he might, if disposed, safely sacrifice him to his revenge. In these hopes, he put into the hands of Cardinal Spinosa all the original papers found in the Prince's apartment, except the Queen's letters. He constituted the Inquisitors sovereign judges between his son and him, and declared, that he would abide by their sentence. He knew, that the wrath of these people never dies, and that he would find their resentment against the Prince as violent, at the distance of several years after their quarrel, as if only eight days of an interval had intervened.

Notwithstanding the King had issued the severest interdicts against writing to foreign countries concerning the imprisonment of Don Carlos *,
the

* Cabrera, in his History of Philip II.—History of Don John.

the news of it was soon spread abroad. The greater part of the Princes in Christendom interceded for his pardon. The Empress, in particular, wrote in the most importunate terms to the King, her brother. Her eldest daughter had long been promised to the Prince of Spain. The King, afraid of every thing that could give his son more liberty and influence, had always retarded the accomplishment of this marriage. Among other pretexts for this delay, he caused to be propagated a report, that, since the Prince's fall at Alcala, it was the opinion of the physicians he never would have children. This story passed for a mere artifice, to which the Empress gave no credit. It was indeed much easier for the King to protract this alliance, because not pushed so vigorously by Don Carlos. But, however favourable it was to his designs, he scrupled to marry a Princess whom he could not love. The Empress, a stranger to the secret of his heart, did not think any other match suitable to her eldest daughter. As she little suspected the near approach of the Queen of Spain's death, she as little presaged that her daughter should occupy the place of this unfortunate Queen, and that the King, her brother, should, by a kind of fatality, marry all the Princesses who had been engaged to Don Carlos. The King, who saw farther, took particular care to manage her on

this occasion, and to justify himself in her opinion*.

In the mean time, this news threw the rebels of Granada and Holland into a state of despair, which produced very bloody consequences; and they would have been still more fatal, had the Turks kept their engagements. But Miquez was of opinion, that he ought not, unsupported by the Prince of Spain, to hazard the Ottoman fleet in parts so remote from all succour, in case of any misfortune. He yielded to the remonstrances of the other ministers against prosecuting this expedition, which was now changed into that of Cyprus, where he demonstrated, by his wonderful exploits †, that his genius was not circumscribed by the walls of the Seraglio, and that the love of pleasure does not always render its votaries incapable of great achievements.

The Inquisitors, in the mean time, drew up the process against the unfortunate Carlos, with incredible zeal and industry. Their former animosity against him appeared now so striking, that nothing could have screened them, but the interest of religion alone, which they had artfully blended with this business. They sent to search amongst the archives of Barcelona, for the criminal process formerly carried on by Don John

* Cabrera's history of Philip II.

† Monsieur de Thou, Strada, &c.

John II. King of Arragon, against the Prince of Viane, Don Carlos, his eldest son. They caused this process to be translated from the Catalanian into the Castilian tongue, to serve at once for a model and a precedent *. The business was laid before the Inquisition under the names of the Dauphin Lewis XI. and of Charles VII. his father. As they were unanimous in their opinions, a judgment may be formed of the whole, from that of the famous Dr Navarre, as recorded by the historian of Philip II. † He decides, that a King, upon discovering any intentions, in the presumptive heir of the crown, to fly the kingdom, ought to arrest him, provided his escape would occasion division amongst the subjects, or afford any considerable advantages to the enemies of the state, but especially, if these enemies are heretics, and there is the least reason to dread, or even to suspect, that the Prince patronizes them. The sacrifice made by his Majesty, of the feelings of nature to the safety of the state, was exalted by the Inquisitors above the obedience of Abraham. They impiously compared this Prince to the Eternal Father, who spared not his only son for the salvation of mankind. Before judges so well affected, the process could not

* Cabrera's History of Philip II.—History of Don John.

† Cabrera.

not be tedious. The letters of the Admiral Châtillon, of the Prince of Orange, of Count Egmont, of the Consistory of Antwerp, and of John Miquez, sufficed for the sole ground of judgment; and Don Carlos was condemned to remain in prison*.

The resentment expressed by the Prince against this sentence, made all who had either advised, or approved of it, tremble. Persuaded that it would be impossible to escape his vengeance, should he recover his freedom, they could enjoy no peace till his perdition was accomplished. Cardinal Spinosa remonstrated to the King, that he had no cage strong enough to keep this bird; and that he must either soon destroy, or else set him at liberty. The people, with whom the unfortunate are generally deemed innocent, shewed every day greater impatience for the Prince's enlargement. Philip, afraid of an insurrection, durst not leave Madrid. After mature deliberation, he concluded, that, releasing his son would be inevitable destruction to his ministers; and that his death would be the only security against the fate he apprehended for himself. For some time, a slow poison was mixed in every thing the Prince tasted, in order to bring on a lingering death. His cloaths, his li-

nen,

* Le Laboureur sur le Castelnau, in his chapter, of Don Carlos.

nen, and whatever he could touch, were infected by it. But, whether his youth, and strength of constitution, prevailed over the poison, or that those interested in his life made him use preservatives, this expedient proved abortive †. It was necessary to be more explicit; and this unhappy Prince was given to understand, that he must choose the manner of his death ‡.

He received this strange news with the indifference of a man, who valued something higher than he valued life; and who dreaded the same fate for the object of his affection. Notwithstanding the representations given by the Spanish historians, of the weak and passionate behaviour of this Prince, with a view to blacken his memory and vindicate his father, it is certain, there never dropped from his mouth but one expression, which could be considered as a complaint. It was on the following occasion: The Queen having, through the power of money, found means to signify her desire, that he should ask an interview with the King, when one of the guards came announcing his father's approach, 'Say my *King*,' answered the Prince, 'and not my *Father*.' His respect for the Queen had determined him to throw himself upon his knees before

† Campana's and Cabrera's history of Philip II.—
De Thou's MS.—Mayerne.—Dupleix, &c.

‡ Matthieu's History of France.

before his Majesty, and to beg he would consider, that it was his own blood he was about to shed †. The Monarch answered coolly, that, when his blood was in a bad state, he employed the surgeon to open a vein. Maddened to despair, by having thus fruitlessly debased himself, Don Carlos, at these words, sprung suddenly up, and asked his guards, if the bath was ready in which he was to die. Whether it was to feast his eyes longer with this deplorable spectacle, or perhaps, that he was shaken by it, and sought an opportunity of relenting, the King asked him, if he had nothing farther to say? The Prince, who would gladly have recalled what he had done, at the price of a thousand lives, seeing no farther hope either for himself or the Queen, could not help answering, for the last time, with all his natural haughtiness, ‘Had I not been urged
 ‘to this interview by those,’ says he, ‘for whom
 ‘my regard can cease only with my days, I
 ‘would not have disgraced myself, by asking
 ‘your pardon; and my death would have been
 ‘more glorious than your life.’ The King retired upon this answer, without discovering any emotion. Don Carlos got into the bath ‡, and having caused open the veins of his arms and legs, he ordered every person to retire. Then,
 clasping

† Mezeray, in his large history.

‡ Dupleix’s history of France.

clasping in his hands a miniature portrait of the Queen, which he always wore at his neck, and which had been the first cause of his love, he fixed his eyes intently on this fatal picture, till surprised in this contemplation by the cold shiverings of death, and till his generous and noble soul having almost fled with his blood and spirits, he instantly lost his sight, and then his life.

The precise time of his death is not known. Only, it is certain, it happened a considerable space before it was made public. A long account of his illness was printed †; which was said to be a dysentery, occasioned by his irregularities.

The grief of the people, and the despair of the Prince's domestics, burst out with such violence, that even the most partial historians ‡ have not had the effrontry to dissemble them. The Count de Lerma, who had been entrusted by the King with the charge of Don Carlos during his confinement, had conceived such an extraordinary friendship for him, that his disconsolate situation was evident to the whole court. The King, who beheld these lamentations as so many

† At Madrid, in Spanish; and, afterwards at Venice, in Italian.

‡ Campana and Cabrera, in their histories of Philip II.

ny reproaches, employed what he judged the most effectual means of silencing them. He bestowed magnificent rewards on the Prince's domestics. A Commandery of Calatrava was given to the Count of Lerma, and he was appointed Gentleman of the Bed Chamber. It was abundantly clear, that a grateful sense of the affection discovered for Don Carlos did not prompt this munificence. The public zeal, however, for the honour of the Prince's memory, was not in the least abated.

As it was known that the King intended a funeral uncommonly magnificent, the city of Madrid intreated, that the expence and care of it might be devolved upon them. Philip, though he easily foresaw that this mournful solemnity would be attended with elegies not very honourable to the enemies of the deceased, did not venture a refusal. His historians † extol him particularly for the tranquillity of mind he discovered on the day of this solemnity ; when, beholding, from a window of his palace, the arrangement and procession of the ceremony, he instantly decided a question with respect to precedence, which occurred between the different Councils of State that attended. The Emperor's two sons, then at the court of Spain, were the chief mourners. Cardinal Spinosa, who conducted

† Cabrera, in his history of Philip II.

ducted them, immediately after the corpse, upon approaching the church, took leave of them, and retired, under pretence of being seized with an head-ach. But, as he was known to be the most dangerous and implacable enemy of Don Carlos, several voices were heard crying around him, that he could not bear the presence of the Prince, either when alive or dead*. The first thing which presented itself was the celebrated eulogium of scripture, upon the death of a righteous man, written in large characters of gold over the gate by which they entered the church: ‘ He was speedily torn from us, lest the wickedness of the age should alter his heart, or deceit beguile his soul †.’ All that inventive grief could devise for its own consolation, was exhibited on the superb mausoleum in which the Prince was deposited. But, as all the ornaments referred to the Latin inscription, which served for an epitaph, it will be sufficient to give the sense of it, in order to shew the spirit and design of the whole pomp: ‘ To the immortal memory of Charles, Prince of both Spains, of the two Sicilies, of Belgic and Cisalpine Gauls, Heir of the New World; incomparable for greatness of

K k

‘ soul,

* Cabrera, in his history of Don John.

† Wisdom of Solomon, iv. 11.

‘ soul, liberality, and the love of truth †.’ Thus, were the towering genius and heroic dispositions of the unfortunate Don Carlos, at last represented under their proper character of Virtues, after having been so long disguised by his enemies, under that of Vices.

During the time that the King kept the death of Don Carlos private, he resolved to have it communicated to the Queen ; but he was afraid lest such melancholy news might prove dangerous to her delivery. He understood, however, soon after, that her information was better than he could have wished. As she could not be ignorant that Don Carlos had fallen the victim of his father’s jealousy, she was under no constraint to conceal her resentment on this account ‡. Her just indignation threw her husband into fresh troubles. He imagined every thing was to be feared from her courage ; but still more from the extraordinary esteem in which she was held by the court of France, and the close correspondence she always maintained with the Queen her mother.

A few months after the death of Don Carlos, the Duchess of Alva, who occupied one of the principal

† Relacion de Muerte y Essequias del Principe Don Carlos.

‡ Le Laboureur sur le Castlenau, in Chap. Don Carlos.—Mayerne, &c.

principal places in the Queen's household, entered her apartment one morning carrying a medicine for her. The Queen told her she was in perfect health, and refused to take it *. While the Duchess endeavoured to force it upon her, the King, who was hard by, entered, at the noise of their contest. At first, he blamed the Duchess for her obstinacy. But, upon her representing, that the physicians judged this prescription necessary for her happy delivery, he submitted to this authority. He said, therefore, very softly, to the Queen, that, as this medicine was of such consequence, she must, at any rate, take it. 'Since you insist upon it,' said she, 'I readily agree †.' He immediately left the room, and returned some time after, dressed in deep mourning ‡, to inquire after her health. But, whether there had been any mistake in the composition of this draught, or whether the Queen's extraordinary agitation, and the violence she suffered in taking it, had given a malignity it did not possess, she expired the same day in the most excruciating pains, and after excessive vomitings. Her child was found dead, and its skull almost burnt.

* Le Laboureur.—Mayerne.—MS. of Monf. de Peiresec.

† Mezeray's large history.

‡ Mayerne.—Turquet, history of Spain.—MS. of Monf. de Peiresec, &c.

burnt †. She was in the beginning of her twenty-fourth year, of the same age with Don Carlos, and in the highest perfection of her beauty.

Providence took such exemplary revenge for the death of these two illustrious persons, that the memory of it deserves transmission to posterity. The beauty of the Princess d'Eboli soon turned the King's confidence into violent love. Her husband, Rui Gomez, no less jealous of the secrets the King imparted to his wife, than of the favours she granted the King, formed a design of cutting her off; but the Princess having discovered his intention, prevented its execution, by despatching himself.

From this time, she always kept Don John at a distance from court, under pretence of different employments; but, in reality, because he wanted to avail himself of the power he had acquired over her, by their long and familiar intercourse. She procured for him the government of Flanders, in hopes that he might fall there; as must undoubtedly have happened, had he not been saved by the courage and good fortune of the Prince of Parma. She learned, on this occasion, that he had discovered her ill offices towards him. Her dread, therefore, of being entirely ruined, by his informing the King of all that had passed between them, made her resolve to

† Le Laboureur, &c.

to shew the letters of the Prince of Orange, which were of singular consequence. They bore, that a marriage was concluded between Don John and the Queen of England ; and that, whenever this marriage should take place, the rebels of Holland had engaged to acknowledge him for their King, without stipulating any other conditions than that of liberty of conscience. Perez delivered these letters to the King, who instantly recognised the Prince of Orange's hand. As he abandoned himself to his fears in the presence of the Princess d'Eboli, she seized this moment to tell him the answer which Don John had formerly given Don Carlos, upon his calling him a bastard. She also reminded the King, how he had been elated by the acclamations of the army in Granada ; where the soldiers, delighted with some of his heroic exploits, cried out, in his presence, ' This is the true son of the 'Emperor.' She likewise added his obstinacy to be made King of Tunis ; and his loss of the Goletta, in revenge, because the King had not favoured his design. These different considerations, joined to the imminent danger from the pretended marriage with the Queen of England, sunk so deep into Philip's mind, that, thinking he had not a moment to lose, he found means to send Don John, through an unexpected channel, some perfumed stockings, which cost him
his

his life. But this seems uncertain; for all the historians agree, that he died in the camp before Namur, of a contagious distemper.

It was discovered, some time after, that the Princess d'Eboli had procured to be written on purpose these letters by the Prince of Orange, which were said to have been intercepted, and which proved so fatal to Don John. This singular wickedness inspired the King with such horror, as totally extinguished his love. The Princess and Perez were shut up in prison, there to end their days. Perez having afterwards escaped, wandered miserable through all the courts of Europe. In fine, Philip II. himself, after having grown old amidst the griefs occasioned by so many calamities, was smitten with an ulcer, which terminated in his death.

Thus were expiated the ever deplorable deaths of a magnanimous Prince, and of the most beautiful and virtuous Princess that ever lived. Thus their unfortunate shades were fully appeased, by the mournful exit of all the accomplices of their fate.

F A B L E S

IMITATED FROM THE

GERMAN OF GELLERT.

[N. B. The following Fables were published formerly in a periodical paper : They are now offered to the public, with such improvement as, the author flatters himself, will render them less unacceptable.]

F A B L E I.

THE TRAVELLER.

DURING the violence of a storm, a traveller implored relief from Jupiter, and intreated him to assuage the tempest. But Jupiter lent a deaf ear to his intreaty. Struggling with the unabating fury of the whirlwind, tired, and far from shelter, he grew peevish and discontented. ‘ It is thus (he said) the Gods, to whom
‘ our sacrifices are offered daily, heedless of our
‘ welfare, and amused with our sufferings, make
‘ an ostentatious parade of their omnipotence.’
At length, approaching the verge of a forest,
‘ Here

‘ Here (he cried) I shall find that succour and
 ‘ protection, which Heaven, either unable or un-
 ‘ willing to aid me, hath refused.’ But, as he
 advanced, a robber rose suddenly from a brake,
 and our traveller, impelled by instant terror, and
 the prospect of great danger, betook himself to
 flight, exposing himself to the tempest of which
 he had so bitterly complained. His enemy, mean-
 while, fitting an arrow to his bow, took exact
 aim ; but the bow-string being relaxed with the
 moisture, the deadly weapon fell short of its
 mark, and the traveller escaped uninjured. As
 he continued his journey, a voice issued awful
 from the clouds : ‘ Meditate on the providence
 ‘ as well as on the power of heaven. The storm
 ‘ which you deprecated so blasphemously, hath
 ‘ been the means of your preservation Had not
 ‘ the bowstring of your enemy been rendered
 ‘ useless by the rain, you had fallen a prey to his
 ‘ violence.’

II.

A WELL TIMED REBUKE.

PHILINDA, in the bloom of youth and beauty,
 soon became conscious of her charms. Like o-
 ther comely maids, she attired herself in gaudy
 apparel, and was constantly consulting her mir-
 ror.

ror. Her brother, a grave and formal philosopher, celebrated for his erudition, declaimed against the vanity of the sex. ‘Have a care,’ replied Philinda, with a smile, ‘lest the charge be retorted. Hourly I take counsel with my mirror, and hourly you rehearse your own compositions.’

III.

THE TENDER WIFE.

CLARINE loved her husband with sincere affection; for they were only six weeks married. He constituted her sole felicity; for he was exactly suited to her mind. Their desires and aversions were the same. It was Clarine’s study, by diligent attention, to anticipate her husband’s wishes. ‘Such a wife,’ says my male reader, who entertains thoughts of matrimony, ‘Such a wife would I desire!’ And such a wife mayest thou enjoy. Clarine’s husband fell sick. A dangerous malady. ‘No hope,’ said the physician, and shook his awful wig. Bitterly wept Clarine. ‘O death, might I prefer a petition! Spare, O spare my husband! Let me be the victim in his stead!’ Death heard, appeared; ‘and what,’ cried he, ‘is thy request?’ ‘There,’ said Clarine, ‘trembling and astonished, ‘There he lies; pierced with intolerable agony, he implores thy speedy relief.’

IV.

THE YELLOW HAMMER AND NIGHTINGALE.

A yellow hammer and a nightingale were suspended, in their cages, at the outside of Damon's window. The nightingale began to warble, and Damon's little child was smit with admiration of his melody. 'Which of the birds,' said he, 'sings so delightfully?' 'I will shew you them,' answered his father, 'and you may guess.' The boy fixed his eye on the yellow hammer. 'This must be the songster. How beautifully painted are his feathers! The other, you may see by his plumage, is quite unmusical, and good for nothing.' The vulgar,' said Damon, 'judge precisely after the same manner, and form their opinion of merit merely by external appearances.'

V.

THE FOX AND THE MAGPIE.

SAID Renard to a Magpie, 'May I presume to ask the subject of your incessant discourse? Doubtless you discuss many curious and important inquiries. 'True,' answered the Magpie, 'I minister truth and instruction to the public. From the Eagle, even to the Bat, all partake
' take

' take of my wisdom.' ' May I request a speci-
 ' men of your knowledge?' said the fox, with a
 submissive tone. As a quack-doctor mounts the
 stage, extols the virtue of his drugs, draws out a
 voluminous handkerchief, and coughs, and spits,
 and harangues; so the Magpie, skipping from
 bough to bough, whetting his beak, and assuming
 an air of profound sagacity and importance, ad-
 dressed his disciple: ' My chief delight is in
 ' communicating and diffusing knowledge. At-
 ' tend to the following theory, proved by incon-
 ' testable facts, and of signal consequence to the
 ' welfare of foxes. Have you not hitherto ima-
 ' gined that it is by four feet alone that you per-
 ' form the operation of running and walking?'
 ' Certainly,' said Renard. ' Then be affu-
 ' red,' added the instructor, ' that you have la-
 ' boured under a gross misapprehension. I will
 ' evince, by irrefragable arguments, that you run
 ' walk, and skip, upon five feet. ' When you
 ' run, your foot moves; and when you neither
 ' walk nor run, your foot is at rest. Again, when
 ' you walk, your tail touches the ground. These
 ' principles are simple and self-evident. Mark
 ' the consequence. When your foot moves, your
 ' tail moves; your foot moves from one place to
 ' another; and so does your tail. And, again,
 ' when you run full speed, your tail touches the
 ' ground: Therefore your tail is your fifth
 ' foot,

‘foot. Q. E. D.’ ‘Excellent,’ cried the Fox,
 ‘the less we know, the readier we are to instruct
 ‘and demonstrate.’

VI.

THE PAINTER.

A skilful Painter shewed a picture of Mars to a Connoisseur, and asked his opinion concerning it. The Connoisseur examined it closely, and spoke his sentiments without reserve. He told him he disliked it; alledging many good reasons for his dislike. But the artist was of a different mind; and his friend disputed with him at great length, without being able to convince him. Meantime, a fop entered the apartment, and casting a superficial glance on the picture, ‘Good heavens!’ cried he, in an ecstasy of admiration, ‘what a
 ‘master-piece of art and invention! What an
 ‘elegant foot! and how exactly are the nails
 ‘proportioned! Mars lives in the picture. What
 ‘ingenuity in that shield, and how much skill in
 ‘the execution of the helmet!’ The Painter was covered with utter shame and confusion. ‘Now,’ said he, ‘I am convinced of my mistake.’ And the moment his applauding visitant withdrew, he expunged the Godhead. The work is bad, if a Connoisseur disapproves; if a fool praises, craze.

A N

A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
SACRIFICES OF HEATHEN NATIONS.

MEN of all ages and nations have acknowledged the power of superior, invifible Beings ; but thofe nations that never enjoyed, or had forgotten the benefits of revelation, attributed to Divinity the weakneffes, and even the vices of human nature. In particular, they could not divest their invifible rulers of thofe appetites which tend to the fupport of the body : And the inhabitants of Heaven, no lefs than their fubjects upon earth, indulged in the pleasures of the plentiful banquet. Yet their food was not always nectar and ambrofia : They condefcended fometimes to vifit mankind, and partook of their entertainments. Such opinions, with their confequent practices, were very general among the Greeks and Romans : We alfo recognise them among the Babylonians, in the worfhip of Bel and the Dragon ; and in the worfhip of Dagon
among

among the Philistines.—Yet the Gods, though satisfied with the good will of their worshippers, did not, upon all occasions of pious festivity, leave their celestial mansions. Regaled with the fragrance, and with the steam of what was offered, they are often represented as leaning on the clouds, and enjoying the feast from a distance. The offering, indeed, is sometimes to be considered as an invitation, or allurements, to the Gods : And their acceptance or refusal, their favour or their displeasure, were revealed, by signs held unequivocal, to the trembling votary. They were revealed by the appearances of the offering, both before and after the fire, by which it was rendered a fit sacrifice, had consumed, or prepared it ; and, by the appearances and operation of the fire itself, as it blazed on the sacred altar.—In this manner arose the practice, so frequent among heathen nations, and particularly among the Greeks and Romans, of offering in sacrifice to their Gods, those fruits and victims which were reckoned most acceptable, and most capable of affording them pleasure.

Sacrifices were of different kinds. Some were denominated from the superior Being to whom that homage was paid ; some from the cause, and some from the nature of the oblation. But, in the following account, I shall use a different arrangement, and consider the different kinds of sacrifices,

sacrifices, according to the particular principles moving the minds of men in those acts of devotion.—Reverence for superior Beings is, no doubt, the principle of all devotion ; and this, together with an opinion, that the excellent things upon earth were no less agreeable to Gods than to men, gave rise to this solemn rite. But, subordinate to these, other principles of a more particular kind operated occasionally, and produced peculiar corresponding observances. Affection and gratitude were often of considerable power in religious solemnities ; nor was fear less powerful nor less universal. From the one or from the other of these dispositions, all sacrifices may easily be deduced : They were the voluntary offerings of affection, kindling into enthusiasm ; or, the extorted tribute of superstitious fear : And, belonging to each of these classes, there were subordinate species. In distinguishing these different species by their characteristic appearances, we shall trace the order of their institution, and of some remarkable changes that took place, both in the spirit, and in the form of sacrifice. It will probably appear, that the earliest sacrifices were those of affectionate enthusiasm ; and that the change into those of fearful superstition, was produced by changes in Political Situation.

I. That the earliest kind of sacrifice among heathen nations arose from sentiments of kind affection, will appear sufficiently manifest, if we consider the origin of religious worship among men ignorant of revelation ; if we consider the formalities annexed to the rite itself, and recollect, at the same time, how far men, in rude ages, obeyed or respected their rulers. We shall find, too, that the sacrifices belonging to this division were of two different kinds.

1. In early times, men, impelled by strong propensities, ignorant and uncivilized, extending their belief of living agents beyond the sphere of their external senses, and peopling those regions of the universe to which the eye cannot reach, with superior invisible beings, were moved in this fanciful creation, by affection for their friends, or admiration of departed heroes ; and, imagining them invested with authority over the affairs of men, they endeavoured to conciliate and secure their protection. They invoked their assistance in every dangerous enterprise ; and, when they proved successful, vain of being held in esteem by their invisible rulers, they attributed to them the glory. Judging of what they knew not, by what they knew, they expressed love and gratitude to the Gods in the same manner as they testified similar affections to their benefactors upon earth, and offered them a portion of those things

things which they reckoned most valuable, or best suited to the dignity of preternatural agents. Oblations of love will necessarily be the first species of sacrifice, if religious worship, in early times, may be deduced from admiration or esteem, disposing men to immortalize the dead, and, after their death, to invest them with extraordinary powers.

We have these things confirmed by the opinions and practices of antiquity. Both in the manner of performing sacrifice, and in the nature of the oblation, we distinguish clearly the character of the Being worshipped, and, consequently, the spirit of the worshipper. If we find, in the various formalities of the rite, a strict attention to purity of manners, to decency and propriety of deportment, and that nothing is practised inconsistent with humanity, we are certainly led to conclude, that beings thus adored are reckoned pure and beneficent, and, consequently, that the homage due to them must arise from grateful esteem. We find, accordingly, that, before the celebration of this solemn rite, a certain preparation on the part of the worshipper, washing with water, and abstinence from gross enjoyments, were held necessary. It was also necessary, that the worshipper, as a symbol of purity, should be arrayed in white apparel. Besides, as an evidence that men, in early ages, ascribed not only purity, but humanity, to their

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Gods, no person of what character so ever, not even the pious Æneas, could approach the Gods immediately after having perpetrated bloodshed, though in defence of his country, till he had performed some purifying, or some expiating ceremony. Add to this, the authority of Ovid, who tells us distinctly, that, at the institution of sacrifice, the gifts offered to the Gods were no other than the fruits of the earth, and that their altars were never stained with the bloodshed of victims. Moreover, in early periods, both at Athens and Rome, the Gods, as we are told by Plutarch, and other respectable authorities, were never worshipped with the death of a living creature. It also deserves notice, that, even in after times, when the corrupted manners of men made them believe that their deities were as depraved as themselves, some of their divinities maintained an unblemished fame, and continued to have homage paid them with fruits, flowers, and libations. Of this kind, according to the authority of Tibullius, were the offerings to the God Genius :

No murder'd fatling of the flock,
But flowers and honey from the rock.

The rural divinities were reckoned of a gentler disposition than several of their brethren ; and, in their worship, even in later times, we have many marks of benignity. It extended manifestly

festly to irrational animals ; for Tibullus, describing a sacrifice and festival on their account, requires, that the oxen usually employed in labour should, on that occasion, enjoy repose, should have their stalls filled, and their heads ornamented with garlands. These facts and observations show very clearly the opinions entertained, in early times, of the purity and benignity of superior beings, and that the devotion expressed in the religious observances of such a period arose from affection. We may add, that it was impossible the opinions of men in very rude ages, and the worship of their Gods, could be otherwise. The powers of government were then weak ; obedience to rulers was more voluntary than constrained ; the ferocity of despotism was unknown ; and so were the fear and adulation of despots. Men knew none upon earth the objects of mean prostration ; how then could they offer indignity to deceased heroes, or suppose, that, by any change they had undergone, they were rendered inhuman ?

2. We now proceed to sacrifices of another kind, belonging to the same class with the former, because they arose from the same general principle, but which are distinguished from them by two remarkable circumstances, and seem, therefore, to have been of later institution. They are distinguished by the nature of the oblation ;
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the offering is not now of fruits and libations, but of a victim put to death at the altar. This, consistently with the foregoing observations, denotes unsocial dispositions in the Divinity. It does so. The victim is intended to gratify his resentment; and the belief that resentment influences the object of adoration, is the other remarkable circumstance distinguishing this kind of sacrifice. I go on to give some farther account of it.

As the objects of adoration became very numerous, the imaginations of men distinguished their different characters, and appropriated to them peculiar provinces in the government of the universe. To one was allotted the empire of the sea; to another, supremacy over the winds. Every element, every mountain, and every product of the ground, had its peculiar tutelary divinity. These divinities were supposed to be much interested in the prosperity of such things as claimed or enjoyed their protection. Whatsoever, therefore, tended to destroy or injure any product immediately under the care of a God, must excite his displeasure; nor could any action be performed by mankind more agreeable to the will of Heaven, than to inflict punishment on such offenders. It was pious to take part, as it were, with the Gods in their quarrel, and join them in the persecution of their adversaries. But,
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as the Gods extended this protection over particular provinces for the good of mankind, even their resentment, arising from goodwill, afforded still greater reason for the gratitude and respect of mortals. Agreeably to this account, we are told explicitly, that the sacrifices succeeding the mere oblations of fruits and flowers, were of those animals that were most offensive to the Gods. A sow was offered to Ceres, because that animal, by destroying the corn-fields, was particularly obnoxious to the Goddess of agriculture; and, in like manner, a goat was immolated to Bacchus, the God of vineyards, for destroying the tender vines. As the earliest offerings of this kind were presented to Ceres and Bacchus, we have some reason to conclude, that they were not practised till men were considerably advanced in the knowledge of useful arts. Thus the second kind of sacrifices belonging to this division, and instituted at a later period, are of living creatures, and suppose resentment, but a resentment founded on goodness in the objects of adoration.

II. We shall now consider those sacrifices which arose from such unfavourable conceptions of deity as produced *fear* in the worshipper. But, previous to this, we must inquire how these unfavourable conceptions of deity arose, and what circumstances in the external or political situation

situation of men led them to consider their Gods as inhuman tyrants. The early religion of heathen nations tended to enthusiasm; and their acts of devotion were joyous, accompanied with singing and dancing. In process of time, their enthusiasm was changed into superstition. What occasioned the change?

In the progress of society, the original equality of mankind is soon abolished. In very early periods, bodily strength, and the wisdom of experience, are the chief sources of authority. Afterwards, the distinctions of rank subsisting among mankind depend upon wealth. The opulent have various means of enjoyment; they acquire power; they claim and obtain respect. Along with this consideration, let us also keep in view, as of service in our present inquiry, that acknowledged tendency in human nature, of yielding to the present passion, and of suiting the object of our attention to the complexion of our present humour. The angry man, without sufficient reason, aggravates offence; the fearful, from slight surmises of danger, becomes deeply apprehensive; and, in like manner, the needy client, who gazes with wonder at the parade of opulence, will find his wonder growing into admiration. His understanding will thus be seduced; and admiration will make him believe, that the person he venerates is endowed with every suitable

able quality. Thus, to the proud patrician, the lordly baron, or ostentatious leader, he ascribes a constitution and principles very different from what they really possess. He thinks their feelings much finer than those of the vulgar, and their sense of pleasure more exquisite. Corresponding to their affluence, they wear softer raiment, use easier methods of conveyance, require food of a daintier relish, and seem, even in their bodily organs, to have contracted uncommon delicacy. Thus influenced by admiration, he fancies that these apparently superior beings are moved with uncommon virtue, and endowed with unusual powers. If he sees them betraying weaknesses and passions, that, in a lower condition of life, would expose them to censure, he does not blame them; he even regards their infirmities with distant awe, and deems them consistent with their exalted station. Thus their wrath, and the ebullitions of an angry temper, will be respected, or even imitated. Their sensual immoralities, unless they interfere with the happiness of others, and even then, unless they are successfully opposed, will be accounted suitable, or, at least, not unbecoming. Yet, in these mean prepossessions, we discover excellence in human nature. We perceive her borne down and struggling in untoward circumstances. By her original determinations, we connect merit with pre-eminence. When we see
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men raised to pre-eminence, we are inclined, till we are better taught by experience, to suppose them deserving; and, if we cannot perceive their merit, we are ready to blame our own want of discernment. Thus men regard as excellent, what otherwise they would condemn, and are more prone to forge and impose upon themselves the fetters of servile deference, than many are apt to believe.

Now, since external show, and assumed dignity, are so seducing, since the real difference between the ruler and his inferiors is so extravagantly widened, and that the vulgar are so ready to homage, with profound adoration, the man distinguished merely by the gifts of fortune, what effect will this produce on the person homaged? Will he preserve due equanimity? Will he remember, and will the remembrance have due influence on his conduct, that, though he be exalted by the favour of fortune, he is yet of the human species, liable to error and infirmity? His elevation will beget in him arrogance. He will fancy himself a being of a different order from the vulgar. Conceiving himself as highly exalted in nature as in condition, he will apprehend himself of so much consequence, that the removal of his wants should be the duty of his inferiors. His inferiors, therefore, must contribute to his ease, and minister to his pleasures.

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Should it happen, and it will frequently happen, that his pleasures interfere with the happiness of his dependents, this will cost him no violent struggle. The desires of others must give way to his desires, and the enjoyments of the servant must be postponed for those of the master. Thus his humanity receives a mortal wound. His reluctances will soon decay. He will not only be less scrupulous in depriving others of their enjoyments, but, to satisfy some gross appetite of his own, he will, without hesitation, expose them to absolute sufferings. This is not all. Proportioned to the facility he enjoys in gratifying his appetites, will be their number and their vehemence. Thus there will be a greater interference with the rights and the privileges of others; he will become guilty of more atrocious violations of humanity, till, by advancing gradually into depravity, he becomes an inhuman tyrant. His own corrupt inclination will now be the only rule of his conduct. Without any regard for the welfare of others, the institutions he appoints will have in view merely the continuance of his own powers, and the gratification of his own desires. He will reward and punish, not for the benefit or improvement of his dependents, but for the transgression or fulfillment of his own arbitrary commands. Thus capricious and inhuman, what sentiment can he beget in those be-

neath him, but a sentiment of abject fear? Fear will be the principle of their conduct, and dictate every act of their's towards their fierce superior. They obey from the dread of punishment. Capricious in his attachments, and variable in his inclinations, they deem themselves happy if they can secure in him some prepossessions in their favour, and, by the most effectual means, endeavour to buy protection. But what means can operate more effectually with a lawless superior, than those that procure him the gratification of sensual desire, professions of abject submission, together with gifts, and valuable offerings? The best of their cattle, the most excellent of their fruits, the services of their sons, and the prostitution of their daughters, will be the dishonourable price paid to him for his indulgence. If they have offended him, they must mitigate and appease his resentment, not only by expressions of deep contrition, and by compensating the wrong they may have done, but by a compensation of manifold value. Moreover, as his wrath and displeasure have been kindled, and that all his passions have an immutable undisputed privilege of being fully gratified, and in a manner perfectly suited to their nature; and, as it is the nature of these malignant passions not to be otherwise sated than by the misery of the unhappy offender, they must even distress and afflict themselves,

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selves, till, if possible, they substitute pity in his mind to the violence of fierce resentment. Nor is it before the chieftain alone that they must humble themselves in the dust. The mean minister of his pleasure, the unrelenting steward, or the smiling parasite, must have offerings and adulation. Such have been too often the manners of men, whom fortune hath visited in her wrath with unmerited opulence, and who have risen to splendour without toil or exertion.

Now, this dreadful abasement of the greater part of the human kind happens posterior to the rudest periods, before the improvement of arts, and the perfection of civil liberty. It is at a time when there is hardly a middle rank in society, and no other distinction known than that of master and servant. In those periods, the poor man, employed in tilling the ground, has no property of his own. The rags that serve him instead of raiment, the hovel that shelters him from the cold, and his scanty harvest, the produce of a field superficially cultivated, may be seized by the chieftain, or rapacious steward. His person and services may be sold; he may be exchanged for a horse or a dog; he has no family name; his particular appellative, like that of the horse or dog, is merely to distinguish him from his fellow slaves; he knows no kindred, and few of the endearments that soften life.

What

What will now be the religion of this gloomy period? A religion of love or of servile fear? It is unnecessary to expatiate. I shall point out, as briefly as possible, four different kinds of sacrifice, arising from fear, and suggested by the characters of earthly rulers. These may be termed the Retaining Sacrifice, the Compensating Sacrifice, the Appeasing Sacrifice, and the Sacrifice to Malignity.

1. Exactly in proportion to the progress of tyranny and oppression, will the characters of divinities be blackened; and the worship of men to their Gods will be the adulation of abject fear. The deities of heathen nations were formerly their leaders. Osiris was the father, for many ages, of the Kings of Egypt. Odin was the progenitor of Hengist; Mars of Romulus; Ajax was a descendent of Jupiter; and the Irminful of the Germans was no other than the celebrated Arminius. With spirits broken and cast down with bondage, uncultivated and unenlightened, men will judge of their invisible rulers as of their visible, and transfer the qualities of the chieftain to his ancestor, who drinks nectar on Olympus, or ale in Valhala. They no longer worship the bold spirit, who, like the Gods of Ossian, rides on the wind, governs the tempest, and, when he deigns to visit mankind, descends into some solemn grove, or upon some lofty mountain.

mountain. Their veneration is addressed to a Being of equal power, but who chooses to reside in a sumptuous palace, and be treated with costly fair. The rule of his government has no relation to their welfare and happiness ; the laws he institutes are for his own dignity and enjoyments. Their happiness or misery, either here or hereafter, are not to be the natural effects and consequences of their own conduct ; but they are to be formally cited before a dread tribunal, tried, rewarded, or punished, according to the arbitrary appointment of their invisible sovereign. In their religious approaches, they come with the prostrations and flattery dictated by their dread of displeasing, and used by them in their approaches into the presence of the fastidious Baron. They are solicitous of securing his protection ; and so they offer him gifts. Ascribing to him earthly appetites and desires, they present to him, at stated times, magnificent banquets ; they pour out wine, and give him the choicest of their cattle and of their fruits. Fearful of giving offence, by awkward or unseemly gesture or utterance, they employ the ministry of others, who are thus entitled to share of the oblation, in the same manner as the parasite or minion of the chieftain presents the gift of the trembling vassal ; and those ministers of the tremendous deity, representing him as of difficult access, institute a variety

riety of forms and ceremonies, to preserve in the votary that distant awe and reverence which render their own office important. Hence they enjoin silence, and, with much solemnity, practise a variety of unmeaning ceremonies. Now, this kind of sacrifice being a tribute offered regularly, in order to preserve the general good will and protection of the God, may be termed a Retaining Sacrifice.

2. It is impossible for erring mortals, ignorant, and governed by violent passions, to preserve a blameless conduct, and not transgress, in many instances, against the arbitrary injunctions of a capricious religion. Thus, the Deity will often, unwillingly, or through inattention, suffer insult or neglect. Men will be conscious of their imperfection in general; though they may be ignorant of their particular misdemeanour; and they see the offended God in a variety of dreadful appearances, in the tremendous earthquake, or the bloody sky. As they would reconcile themselves to the insulted chieftain by expressions of deep contrition and flattery, so, to the offended Deity, they address the meanest prostration. But this is not sufficient; the Deity hath suffered loss, and compensation is necessary. If they have neglected the proper forms and expressions of worship, they must perform them manifold; and, if they have omitted the expected offering,

a gift of surpassing value must be presented in compensation. His pride must be gratified with their humility, and his appetites with the most excellent of their possessions. The preceding sacrifice was merely a bribe, or retaining fee, to secure his favour; but the compensating sacrifice implies feebleness in the deity, and supposes, that, by the transgressions or omissions of mortals, he hath suffered actual loss, or diminution of honour. Proper cognizance must be taken of such offences, not only to make up for what has been unjustly withheld, but lest others, encouraged by so dangerous a precedent, become totally careless of the Gods.

—Et quisquam numen Junonis adoret
 Praeterea, aut supplex aris imponat honorem?
 What nations now to Juno's power will pray,
 Or offerings on my slighted altars lay?

3. The third species may be nominated the Appeasing Sacrifice; and implies, that the Divinity is of an irascible, or vindictive temper. Men, in a state of subjection and abasement, disposed to venerate even the vices of their superiors, will think their anger respectable; that it suits their pre-eminence; and that it would indicate weakness and want of spirit, if they suppressed or restrained their emotions. They transfer this attribute likewise to their invisible rulers. Supposing them capricious and mercenary in their attachments, capable too of suffering

ing injury or disappointment, they suppose them wrathful and vindictive. Now these passions, as was observed, cannot be fully satisfied with the submission and compensation of the offender; they require that he should be a considerable sufferer. Diana not only sustained a loss by the death of her deer, and would, therefore, demand reparation and an apology, but, having been put into a violent passion, as was becoming in a personage of her distinction, those that transgressed against her must suffer suitable punishment. The daughter of Agamemnon must be sacrificed to appease the revengeful Goddess. This species of sacrifice will not only be occasional, but customary, and performed at stated times. Men, as we have already observed, conscious to themselves of the difficulty of adhering strictly to any uniform tenor of conduct, convinced, moreover, that they are under the dominion of wrathful vindictive beings, will be constantly apprehensive of having offended them. They can never be sufficiently aware, nor sufficiently certain, that they are acting agreeably to their will. Though they are conscious of no particular crime, they know not but anger may be flaming out against them, and may fulminate vengeance when they are least apprehensive. In the case of the retaining sacrifice, they endeavoured to anticipate displeasure: In the present case, supposing

sing that offence, though unwittingly, may have been committed, that reparation of damages has been found necessary, and that wrath has been excited, they endeavour to gratify or turn aside its violence. Assured that extreme servile submission may render their divinity placable; but convinced, from the conduct of great men upon earth, that, both for the dignity of the person incensed, and for the gratification of the excited passion, anger, if kindled, must be satisfied, they substitute some other victim instead of themselves. To them the Divinity is reconciled by their abasement; but his rage and fiery indignation having gone forth, they cannot return but with dignity, nor without being duly gratified. We are told by Herodotus, that the Egyptians, in sacrificing, cut off the head of the animal; that the chief priest, with great solemnity, pronounced curses upon it, imprecating, that all the disasters merited by his nation, and all the transgressions of his people, might be accumulated on that devoted head. Afterwards, that it might be carried out of their land, and, that they might not suffer harm from its vicinity, they threw it into the Nile. Frequently too, it was given into the hands of strangers, that if any evil, in spite of precautions, might arise from its contagion, it might fall upon them; for, when superstition infects the mind, and that men be-

lieve themselves under the dominion of a revengeful God, their humanity will suffer abatement. The appeasing sacrifice, therefore, is of two kinds; the one requires, that the person who presents the oblation should himself be a considerable sufferer; the other substitutes for such oblation something else in its stead. The first kind will commonly be offered for any known particular offence. The other, when men intend to expiate no particular transgression, but, from the probability that the Deity may be furiously incensed, to compensate in general for the omissions and turpitude of their conduct. In the first case, they conceive the resentment excited against them to be more direct and more violent, as having a particular object, than in the second. The first will be occasional; the second, at stated periods. The sacrifice of Iphigenia was extraordinary; those of the Egyptians ordinary and stated. After the celebration of this, and indeed of every sacrifice, men feel their minds disburdened. They have appeased the exasperated Deity; they begin a new account; all preceding debts are fully discharged; and kings, and priests, and people, abandon themselves to revelry and rejoicing.

4. There is yet another species of sacrifice arising from fear, and which represents Divinity in a light still more malignant.

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The proud Patrician, the lordly Chieftain, and the no less lordly Parasite, though they wallow in affluence, and have every enjoyment they can receive, are yet grievously offended, if those beneath them presume to be as happy as they are. Inferior in condition, and consequently, in their apprehension, of a far inferior nature, they can have no pretensions to an equal share of enjoyment. Their causeless merriment will give offence. Their Superior feels, perhaps, that, in spite of pre-eminence and sumptuous fare, there are desires in his bosom that cannot be gratified, and important cravings that molest his felicity. Thus the depending vassal must seem as incapable of happiness, as he is mean in condition; he must conceal his gladness of heart, if he has any; and assume the appearance of discontent and affliction. If, however, his hard lot should be alleviated, and that he acquired an extraordinary increase of fortune, it must be shared with his superior: The first, and most excellent portion, must be at his disposal; and what he reserves for himself, must be held by his permission and gracious indulgence. A man must not appear too happy, else Heaven will become envious. Hence men impose upon themselves voluntary mortifications, and destroy, or offer in sacrifice, the most valuable part of their effects. It would be too much for a leader, upon some occasions,

occasions, to acquire renown and superiority among his people, by delivering them from a foreign yoke, and to enjoy perfect domestic happiness at the same time ; he will, therefore, enter into a convention with his God, and make a spontaneous surrendry of something that he holds most valuable. It would have been too much for the Athenians, or for the Romans, to have overthrown their adversaries, without the death of Codrus, and the devotement of the Decii. In like manner, a Prince of Samos, having, in spite of himself, enjoyed a course of uninterrupted prosperity, Amasis, King of Egypt, on that very account, declined his alliance ; ‘ for Heaven,’ said that Political Prince, ‘ will be offended with his good fortune, and visit him with some dreadful calamity.’ The event, according to Herodotus, justified the wisdom of the Egyptian Potentate.

I have thus endeavoured to illustrate the different kinds of sacrifice arising from fear. The first kind supposes, that the invisible ruler may have partialities, or may be capable of being bribed and retained. The second supposes him capable of sustaining loss, and that the damage may be repaired, or the wrong compensated. The third kind supposes him irascible and vindictive ; and that he requires the suffering of the offender, or of something else in his stead. The fourth

fourth kind supposes envy in the invisible Ruler. All, or several of these different principles, may be united in the same sacrifice.

1. It may be apprehended, however, that this only accounts for the devotion of the vulgar, and not of their superiors. It accounts for both. The overbearing chamberlain is as abject to his lord, as the cottager is to the chamberlain. The Bashaw, or the Knaez, are as prostrate before their Sovereigns, as their dependents are unto them. And the religion of such Sovereigns, if they have any, is a religion of servile fear.

2. It may also be observed, though this in general may be the complexion of religious worship in despotic governments, whether the sceptre be in the hands of one person, or of a number; yet, that many fine spirits, endowed with uncommon energies, may be shocked and revolted, and conceive a very different system. Some, though they may have fire and vigour enough to lift them above the noisome vapours creeping along the surface of the earth, may yet be incapable of penetrating the clouds and exhalations that occupy an intermediate region. Others, again, on stronger wing, will arrive at the blue serene, and behold an astonishing luminary, diffusing life and light through the universe.

3. We may also observe, in opposition to a late celebrated writer, who, in his natural history of
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of religion, has advanced the following doctrine :

‘ That, where the Gods are conceived to be only a little superior to mankind, and to have been, many of them, advanced from that inferior rank, we are more at our ease in our addresses to them, and may even without profaneness aspire sometimes to a rivalry and emulation of them ; and that hence activity, spirit, courage, magnanimity, love of liberty, and all the virtues that aggrandize a people.’

I say, in opposition to this doctrine, it flows consequentially from the preceding observations, that mortification, penance, passive suffering, and abasement, are the natural effects of the worship of Beings exalted but a little way above ourselves.

4. I would observe, fourthly, that mistaken notions of Divinity, and a religion, mean, abject, and immoral, arise, by obvious consequence, from tyranny and despotism. On this account, therefore, beside others, it is of serious concernment to mankind, to be jealous of their natural privileges, and suffer no abridgement of their rights as rational beings. Superstition, barbarous blind superstition, imposing bondage on the mind, is often the offspring of civil oppression.

I have thus endeavoured to give some account of the different kinds of sacrifice in the religious establishments

establishments of heathen nations. I have endeavoured to trace the origin and progress of the rite in all its varieties ; to mark the order of its different aspects, and to shew, that they keep pace exactly with the changes in civil government. Sacrifice, very probably, does not belong to the first age of religion, nor will be readily instituted among the natives of a severe climate, having little knowledge of the dainties and effeminacies of life. Religious worship, in the beginning, will not be strict, nor regular, nor formal. No stated times, nor place, nor ceremonies, will be appointed. Men will prostrate themselves occasionally upon every high hill, and under every green tree, without the interposition of priests, temples, or oblations. In the worship of the Gods of Ossian, there are few forms or ceremonies, and hardly any thing resembling sacrifice. This mythology exhibits the religion of an unenlightened people, in its simplest and rudest aspect : It is a mere sketch, the outlines of a system, to be filled up, and varied, according to changes in civil government. We may also observe, in confirmation of this account, that the religion of the Scandinavians seems to have held a place between that of the Caledonians and that of the Romans. Its doctrines were more accurately ascertained, and its fables
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more numerous than in the mythology of Ossian; yet they were not so complete, nor were the rites and ceremonies of that religion so multi-form as that of the antients. In particular, it does not appear that the Scandinavians had temples, or offered sacrifices. These two institutions seem to have been nearly coeval, and to have been in consequence of greater refinements than were known in early times, either in Morven, or by the Baltic. But, when forms of worship are held necessary, men reasoning concerning things, of whose nature and condition they are ignorant or uncertain, by those things that they conceive to be similar, and that are known, and transferring to their Gods the character of their heroes, their worship will express gratitude and veneration. By degrees, the sky darkens—their rulers become tyrants—their Gods, too, are changed into demons, and are worshipped accordingly.

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THE great Diversity of Languages spoken among the various nations of the world is an appearance that has often struck men with astonishment, and has given rise to several curious inquiries. If the whole of mankind originally sprung from the same common stock, there must have been a time when there was only one language known upon the face of the earth. It may be asked, What was that primitive language? How was it acquired by the original pair? To what causes is it owing, that their posterity, who live in one quarter of the earth, cannot now express, in articulate sounds, a single thought, so as to be understood by their brethren who inhabit a different region? These are matters concerning which men are not agreed.

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Many have considered language as an invention too difficult, as well as too noble and useful, to have arisen at first from the exertion of human powers, and have accordingly ascribed it to heavenly origin. The Jewish traditions inform us, that God himself framed a perfect language, in the knowledge of which he instructed our first progenitors, and that from them it was transmitted to their posterity, among whom it continued pure for a period of about two thousand years. In this opinion the Jews have been followed by great numbers of Christians.

In order to account for the present diversity of languages, the greater part both of Jews and Christians have, in fact, though not in express words, ascribed the whole of them to a divine origin. All those who maintain that the knowledge of the primitive language was taken away from the greater part of men immediately before the dispersion at Babel, also maintain, that they began at the same period to express themselves in other languages, which had no existence till that time, but which have continued ever since to be spoken by the posterity of those sons of men who were then scattered through the various corners of the earth. No human abilities are adequate to the instantaneous invention of new languages. If a man were to forget, in a moment, all the articulate sounds which he had
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been accustomed to utter, it would require a considerable time to contrive others, by which he could supply their room, and still more to learn the habit of applying them with readiness and propriety. The same power that erased from the memory of those who were engaged in erecting the tower of Babel all the terms of the primitive language, which they had acquired in their infancy, must have substituted in their place others that were equivalent to them; for the sons of men did not separate because they could not express their thoughts, but because they understood not one another's speech. If such was the case, all languages whatever are of divine original, with this remarkable difference, however, in circumstances, that the primitive tongue was given to man for a blessing, and all the rest for a curse.

This conclusion is certainly harsh; and it has not been universally adopted. It is allowed on all hands, that God is the author of language, as he is the author of every other excellent endowment; for it was he that conferred the powers, by the exercise of which it was acquired. He is equally our benefactor, whether he communicate his gifts immediately by an instantaneous act of sovereign power, or gradually by the mediation of second causes. Some have been of opinion, that language was conferred in this latter

ter manner, or that it arose from the exercise of those powers which divine munificence has granted to man; and they have believed that this conclusion is more rational than the other, and equally consistent with sacred history.

Gregorius Nyssenus *, an eminent Christian bishop, who flourished in the fourth century, and who assures us, that, upon this point, he speaks the sense of the most learned men in his age, ridicules the vanity of those Jews who imagined that God himself instructed Adam and Eve in the language which they made use of in Paradise, and which they transmitted to their posterity. According to that Father, God, in the beginning, created things, and not names; and men afterwards gave names to the things which God had created. God is the author of the heavens and of the earth; but not of the words Heaven and Earth. He gave to men understanding; and they invented terms by which they expressed their thoughts. At the Babylonish dispersion, he taught men no language; but, as it was his will that they should speak in different tongues, he left them to express themselves each in his own way; and a variety of dialects arose in the ordinary course of things. As long as men lived in one society, they naturally spoke the same language; but, after God had dispersed them, that they might inhabit the earth, the primitive language

* Contra Eunomium. Opera, tom. 2.

language was gradually changed ; and, though the notions which were formed of things continued to be every where the same, yet, among the various tribes, they were denominated by different names. If it be objected, that God conversed with our first parents, and must, therefore, have taught them the language which he made use of, that he might enable them to understand him, the same Father answers, that the sacred writers ascribe speech to God only in condescension to the ordinary forms of expression among men, and are not to be understood literally. When they inform us, that God spoke, we are only to understand that he made his will known, and are not to imagine that we are made acquainted with the external signs which he employed for the purpose. The case is the same in this instance as when arms, hands, ears, and eyes are ascribed to the Deity, which forms of expression no person who thinks worthily of the Divine Majesty ever understands in a literal sense.

These reasonings of Gregorius Nyssenus, though perhaps not entirely free from all ground of exception, have certainly great weight, especially if we take into consideration, along with them, the general analogy of the divine government, with which the principal view presented by them appears admirably to correspond. God has often wrought miracles, and made supernatural

tural manifestations of himself, for the instruction and reformation of mankind ; but he has never done any thing of that nature, unless with a view to promote some necessary and important purpose. We never meet with any extraordinary and immediate interposition of his power, merely intended to effectuate an event that might easily have been brought about by the common and usual causes which operate in that regular course of things which he has established. If the invention of language were evidently a work beyond the reach of human faculties, it would have been worthy of divine beneficence to have interposed, in an extraordinary manner, for the sake of instructing man in an art so essential to his improvement and felicity. But it does not appear that such an immediate communication from heaven was at all necessary for the purpose. All the various tongues that ever were in use among mankind might surely have been invented without any such interposition. We know, that many of them have been enriched, during those periods with which we are well acquainted, with many articulate sounds that once did not belong to them. Every addition of a word to a language is a real invention ; and, if men have powers that enable them to invent one word, they undoubtedly have powers adequate to the invention of every word.

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There is a recent fact, which places this matter upon a more indisputable footing than any reasoning whatever. In this present century, the strange literary phaenomenon George Pfalmanazar, a man of whose extraction and education nothing is known, invented a language different from every language upon the face of the earth, copious, and strictly analogical, to which he adapted a peculiar and suitable alphabet; and this language he could speak and write with fluency. He pretended that he was a native of an island in the South Sea; and, if it had been as easy to invent a peculiar class of manners and of natural appearances, as to frame a new language, his imposture would never have been detected.

God gave to man understanding and active powers, by means of which he enabled him to acquire knowledge, and to prosecute those measures which tend to his interest. But he did not teach him science, nor train him up to the practice either of the useful or elegant arts. These he left him to acquire by the proper use of his powers. Is it not reasonable to suppose that language was placed upon the same footing with other important qualifications, and that our Creator, having given to man the power of uttering articulate sounds, left him to employ that power as he thought fit, in denominating objects, and in communicating his thoughts? Though we
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were to suppose that Adam and Eve invented the whole of the primitive language, we would ascribe to them no higher powers than George Pfdmanazar actually possessed and exercised. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that they invented a vocabulary nearly so copious as his must have been. The objects to which there was occasion to give names, and the actions which there was occasion to express, in the infancy of the world, before the invention of the arts, and the introduction of philosophy, were far from being numerous ; and, therefore, we have no reason to believe that the language spoken by our first parents was very plentifully stocked with terms. Strike out of a modern dictionary all the words that owe their origin to the arts, and to abstract modes of thinking, and the remainder will amount to no very great number ; and even these express objects, the greater part of which could never have come under the observation of any single person confined to a narrow district.

In whatever manner man first became acquainted with the use of speech, there can be no doubt that the progenitors of the human race communicated their thoughts in articulate sounds, and, consequently, that there was one language antecedent in point of time to all the rest. Men have felt a curiosity to know what this primitive language

language was, and whether or not any particular dialect can plead its antiquity as a claim for precedency. As this is a question in which the vanity of tribes and kindreds is concerned, the opinions entertained upon the subject have been exceedingly various. The Hebrew, the Coptic, the Chinese, the Gaelic, and many other tongues, have had their several supporters. Those who maintain the pretensions of the antient language, once spoken by the greater part of the Oriental nations, are by far the most numerous ; and the monuments which they produce are much more powerful arguments than any thing that is advanced in favour of other opinions. Even they, however, are divided in their judgments concerning the primitive dialect, some contending for the Hebrew, and others for the Chaldaic, Syriac, or Arabic. It would be needless to consider minutely the shadowy arguments by which the pretensions of the several parties are supported.

The Jews are most clamorous of all in favour of the Hebrew ; and they are followed by great numbers of Christians. It is a strong circumstance on their side of the question, that the books of the Old Testament, the most antient compositions in the world, were, for the most part, written in that language ; though it is also true, that some of them were written in the

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Chaldaic dialect ; others abound with Arabic expressions, and many of the proper names are of Arabic extraction. The Hebrews farther pretend, that their dialect is called the Holy Tongue ; because it was the language made use of by God himself, in his manifestations to their forefathers ; though it is evident enough that it obtained the epithet Holy for the same cause, on account of which the country where the separate nation resided, is denominated the Holy Land. They also support their pretensions, after their usual manner, by traditions. They maintain, that their language was preserved pure, from the time of Adam, in the line of Shem and Arphaxad, and was delivered in that state to Abraham, who transmitted it to Isaac and Jacob ; and to the family of this last patriarch it was at last appropriated. In order to exclude all profane nations from the honour of having ever partaken with them in the use of their sacred tongue, they insist, that neither it nor themselves were called Hebrew from their progenitor Heber, from whom other tribes, as well as they, have sprung ; but that their name is derived from a word signifying *to pass over* ; and that it was given them because their father Abraham passed over the great Asiatic rivers, when he travelled from Mesopotamia to Phoenicia. These are dreams that need no serious confutation. Abraham, for
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ought we know to the contrary, spoke Syriac, like the other inhabitants of the country in which he lived, while he resided at Ur; and, in after times, his descendants were not the only persons who spoke Hebrew. The Canaanites, among whom they lived, made use of the same language; it was the common dialect of all the Phoenician nations. It is called by the prophets the language of Canaan *; and the Samaritans, an aggregate of many tribes, read the books of Moses in the original Hebrew. The fanciful derivation of the word *Hebrew*, from the circumstance that Abraham crossed the rivers, is ridiculous. It is as if one should say, that the Venetians do not derive their name from their forefathers the Heneti, but from the Latin verb *Venire*, because they *came* into the island which they at present possess from the neighbouring continent.

It appears, then, that the Jews themselves are not able fully to support the precedency which they claim in favour of their antient language. They can, indeed, clearly show, from indisputable monuments, that the Hebrew existed at a time when we have no evidence that any other language, with which we are acquainted, was spoken; but they cannot prove that it was the dialect first made use of by men. The pretensions of other nations are not nearly so well founded

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* Isaiah xix. 18.

as their's; for they cannot bring evidence to shew, that their languages have existed for nearly the same period of time. But, from the nature of the thing, all inquiries into the primitive language of mankind must for ever prove fruitless. Languages are subject to perpetual change; and, without a standing miracle, the first that was invented could not have continued during the long period that intervened between the creation and the building of Babel, without undergoing great alterations. Whatever it may have been, we may safely conclude, that it is now lost, or, at least, that the remains of it are so intermixed with sounds of later invention, or so changed, by passing through thousands of mouths, that they cannot now be distinguished and separated.

The language of the first men was probably very scanty. The objects which they saw, and the actions which they performed, were very little diversified; and, of consequence, a very few arbitrary sounds were sufficient to express all their thoughts. Copious as the Greek language certainly was, in its cultivated state, we know that it contains very few primitives. Grammarians say, that they amount not to above three hundred. Yet those few sounds, no doubt, constituted the whole of their language, till the new objects and actions, that occurred in great numbers

bers to an active and rising people, obliged them to augment their vocabulary, by adding to it an immense quantity of derivative and compound words. There is no reason to suppose that the primitive language was so copious as the Greek was, even in its most barren state. It is still farther probable, that the words of the primitive tongue were short, as we find the radical words of those languages that have suffered little by foreign intermixture have generally been. They were probably also pronounced with many inflexions of the voice, which, in some measure, affected their signification, as is always the case where the language spoken is not copious. Even the constituent sounds of words could not, in that early situation of things, be rendered so fixed and invariable as they are capable of being made; and, as they are made in fact, in modern languages, by means of regular orthography. The evident consequence of this fluctuating state of sounds must have been, that they underwent considerable variations in the mouths of different speakers. Men were widely dispersed over the earth before many arts were invented, and before language became either copious or fixed by any standard.

Though originally there was only one language spoken by the whole human race, yet the diversity of tongues may be traced back to a very remote

mote antiquity. After men were dispersed through the several quarters of the world, and had formed themselves into societies independent of each other, they had no intercourse, by means of which they could preserve the same common language. Whether, however, different tongues were introduced by gradual alterations of the primitive form of speech, or if they were the effect of a remarkable divine interposition, is a matter not easy to be decided.

The general opinion has been, that mankind lived from the deluge till the dispersion at Babel in the same society, and that, while they were engaged in the great design of building a lofty tower, their language was varied in a multitude of forms in the mouths of the different speakers, by a judgment from heaven; and they themselves were scattered over the face of the whole earth.

This opinion, however, is not free from difficulties. It is not easy to perceive from what principle the whole of mankind should have continued to live in one society after they became very numerous. There were no Sovereign over them invested with sufficient power to prevent their migrations. There was no hostile nations to keep them united, from motives of self-preservation. They could feed their cattle, and procure subsistence, much more easily in small societies,

societies, than in one immense body. Families were, of consequence, disposed to recede from each other. All nations that have become populous, have founded colonies, even when they met with considerable opposition. The shores of Asia Minor were peopled by Greeks. Swarms of Goths and Vandals, allured by the hopes of more comfortable subsistence than they enjoyed at home, settled themselves in the kingdoms of Europe. The difficulties and dangers that were to be surmounted, have not prevented many and great migrations from the Old World, to the improveable, though uncultivated wilds of America. Much more would the same view operate upon men, when the world, unoccupied, lay before them, and when they could choose the place of residence that pleased their eye, and captivated their fancy. Moreover, it is not credible that all the inhabitants of the earth were present at the building of Babel, or had given their consent to that chimerical scheme. The righteous Noah himself, who, at that time, was still alive, and all his descendants, over whom the venerable Patriarch retained some influence, who, notwithstanding the general tendency to depravity, must have been a great number, were not, we may easily believe, engaged in an attempt, that brought down upon those concerned in it the severe vengeance of Heaven. Besides, from the account of the generations of the sons of Noah,

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recorded in the tenth chapter of the book of Genesis, it appears, that men in general were dispersed through the earth, according to the ties of kindred and natural connection, which can hardly be imagined to have been the case, if they were all scattered in a tumultuous manner, in consequence of a dreadful judgment from Heaven. After enumerating the descendants of Japheth, By these, says Moses, were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations. Similar expressions are made use of with respect to the posterity of Shem and of Ham. These expressions seem to suppose, that nations were formed according to the natural connections of blood and of language ; and, of consequence, that they owed their origin to choice, and not to the accidental concourse of fugitives, who did not understand the speech of one another.

Moved by such difficulties as these, some critics have understood the dispersion at Babel as a punishment, not inflicted upon the whole human race, but only upon the adherents of Nimrod, in whose principality Babel was situated. This opinion has, of late, been ably supported, especially by Mr Bryant *. The followers of Nimrod were his brethren, the children of Cush, and

* Analysis of antient mythology.

and the other descendants of Ham. These ferocious spirits having been trained up in the exercises of hunting, were exactly disciplined for war. Inured to violence, they invaded the possessions of Ashur, son of Shem ; and, having driven him northward from the Babylonish territories, or the Plain of Shinar, fixed their abode in that fertile region. Nimrod, and his associates, having, at length, settled in a country which they were determined to make their own, began to contrive schemes by which they might secure their mutual adherence to the same measures, and forever fix their attachment to the same place. And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto Heaven ; that is, according to the Hebrew idiom, an exceedingly lofty tower : And let us make us a name, or, as it should be translated, let us make us a mark, or monument, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. The tower was probably intended to be a place of religious worship, to which the several tribes were to repair at stated periods. If it was the same building which Herodotus informs us was still remaining at Babylon in his time, it was a part of the temple of Belus. Its foundation was a furlong in length, and as much in breadth : And the structure consisted of eight towers, built upon one another.

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While these children of men were engaged in prosecuting measures, which they thought would render their union perpetual, the judgments of Heaven overtook them, spread confusion among them, and finally dispersed them.

The only difficulty attending this view of the transactions at Babel, seems to be, that it does not suit the forms of expression made use of by Moses, in the beginning of the eleventh chapter of Genesis, at least, as they stand in our translation. It is there said, that 'the whole earth was of one language and of one speech:' And, afterwards, that 'God confounded the language of all the earth, that they might not understand one another's speech.' From which expressions, it would appear, that all the inhabitants of the earth were united in the great confederacy. To this objection, it is answered, that the words translated 'the whole earth,' mean no more than the whole land, or the whole country, and that they are frequently rendered so. In the passage in question, therefore, it is not necessary to suppose that they signify any thing more than the Babylonish territories, at that time in the possession of Nimrod and his associates.

The difficulty with respect to universality is thus removed; but the same expressions present another difficulty of a different nature. They
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would lead us to understand, that, after the dispersion, the descendants of Ham, who were engaged in the great project, spoke languages unintelligible to each other: Whereas, it appears, that, long after this period, their dialects were nearly the same, and were not even materially different from those made use of by the rest of Noah's posterity. Abraham, who came from Mesopotamia, in the portion of Shem, sojourned among various nations sprung from Cush, and the other sons of Ham, and conversed with them all; from which circumstance, it seems evident, that they not only spoke nearly the same language with one another, but also, that they spoke a language not materially different from that made use of by the posterity of Shem in Mesopotamia.

This difficulty attends every supposition that dates the present diversity of languages from the dispersion of Babel; for, long after that period, the same language, or different dialects of the same language, prevailed, from the Gulf of Persia to the Pillars of Hercules, and from the south point of Arabia to the Black Sea.

Pressed with this difficulty, some modern critics do not insist that there was any permanent variety of languages produced among those who were building the tower; and, accordingly, they adopt the marginal readings in our Bibles, which
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are literally rendered from the Hebrew, in place of those which the translators have inserted in the text. 'And all the land was one lip;' that is, of one pronunciation or articulation, 'and one words.' And afterwards, 'God confounded their lip,' or pronunciation, 'so that they did not understand one another's words.' According to this interpretation, it was not the language itself, but the utterance, that the miracle affected †; and the consequences may as well be supposed to be temporary as permanent, for there is nothing said with respect to them.

There ought to be no hesitation about substituting the marginal readings in place of those which are inserted in the text; because they are more literal, and may, therefore, more readily lead us to the historian's meaning. But there seems to be no necessary reason for concluding, that the persons engaged in the enterprise of erecting the tower, either began instantaneously to speak new languages, or that they ceased to articulate words in such a manner as to be intelligible to one another: And, if the reason for such conclusions be not necessary, they ought not to be formed at all; for those events ought not to be ascribed to miraculous interposition, which can be equally well explained from the ordinary course of Divine Providence. The words

† Bryant's analysis.

words of Moses may be interpreted from the nature and idioms of an early and highly figurative language, such as the Hebrew certainly was, without supposing any change upon the speech of mankind immediately produced : And, if such an interpretation be practicable, it ought to be adopted, without scruple, as the most natural, and most consonant to the ordinary manner of procedure in the divine administration.

I adopt the opinion of those who understand the words translated, ‘ the whole earth,’ in their restricted meaning, as referring only to the whole Babylonish territory, then in possession of Nimrod and his associates. When it is said, that these people had the same lip, and the same words, nothing more is implied necessarily, than that they were unanimous, no discord having yet sprung up among them. We make use of similar expressions even in modern tongues. When a matter is universally agreed upon, we say, that all assent with one voice, and that all speak the same language. Figurative expressions of this nature were more common, and more diversified in the Hebrew tongue, than they are in ours. When they spoke of a measure which they prosecuted with one consent, they said, that they did it as one man *, with one heart †, with one shoulder,

* 1 Sam. xi. 7.

† Psal. lxxiii. 5.

shoulder †, with one mouth ||; and, when they prayed for discord among their enemies, they entreated that their tongues might be divided ¶. It is well known in what a variety of metaphorical meanings the terms denoting speech, particularly *lip* and *words*, are taken, in the Old Testament. They are used to express every kind of intention, purpose, promise, command, or threatening. A man is said not to speak his own words, when he does not follow the suggestions of his own heart; and to send his words by the hand of another, when he gives him a commission. The messenger that went to call Micaiah, said to him, ‘Behold the words of the prophets declare good to the King with one mouth; let thy words, therefore, I pray thee, be like one of theirs, and speak thou good.’

The circumstance, that there was but one mind and one voice through the whole land, is of importance to illustrate the subsequent narration; for, if that had not been the case, the scheme of building an immense tower, the execution of which required the joint concurrence and labour of a vast number of people, could not have been undertaken.

If this explanation be admitted, the remaining part of the passage can occasion no difficulty.

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† Hof. vi. 9. Zeph. iii. 9. || 2 Chron. xviii. 12.

¶ Psal. lv. 9.

When it is said that their language, or lip, was confounded, the meaning is, that confusion was introduced into their counsels, or that dissention arose among them ; and the consequence of their disagreement, was their separation. It is indeed said, in our translation, that they did not understand the speech of one another ; but it is to be remarked, that this translation is not exactly conformable to the original. The Hebrew words should be rendered, ‘ they did not hear,’ or hearken to the speech, or ‘ the voice of one another.’ They could no longer act in concert ; their unanimity was destroyed ; discord reigned among them ; and their favourite project was finally relinquished.

It is a strong confirmation of the foregoing remarks, that they are supported by the Septuagint translation. The expressions that have occasioned the greatest difficulty may be thus rendered, agreeable to that venerable version : ‘ And ‘ all the land was one lip, and all of them had ‘ one voice ;’ which is a form of expression, implying no more, than that they had one will and one mind : And afterwards, ‘ The Lord said, ‘ Let us confound their speech, that they may ‘ not hearken each to the voice of his neighbour.’

This difficulty being thus removed, it seems reasonable to believe, that men gradually spread them-

themselves through the earth, according to the natural connections of lineage and blood. They separated from one another in the infancy of arts, and before language had become copious or fixed. If such was the case, we may easily understand by what means the primitive tongue was gradually altered by each family, till the speech of one nation became utterly unintelligible to another. Every tribe and family made additions to the primitive language, as occasion required; and also introduced a variety of changes by peculiar pronunciation, accent, and inflexions of voice, to which we know the unlearned, in every district of the world, are unavoidably addicted. In a short time, both the articulation and the words of distinct nations, engaged in different pursuits, adopting different manners, and observing different objects, with their various modifications and relations, necessarily became very dissimilar.

The nations in Lesser Asia, in the islands of the Mediterranean Sea, and in the states of Greece, were employed in agriculture, navigation, and military exercises. They were an active, enterprising race of people, and they quickly rose to wealth and power. The new objects which were introduced among them by their industry, the new actions in which they were engaged, while prosecuting their views of fame

or ambition, and even the new modifications of action that every day occurred, together with the numerous relations of things which it was found requisite to express, obliged them to adapt their language to their circumstances.

There are two methods, either of which might have been followed, to enrich their language. They could invent new words to supply the deficiencies of their original vocabulary, or they could make such changes upon the words already in use, as would answer the same end. The latter of these methods was adopted ; and it was the method which their circumstances pointed out. It is more easy, and more natural, to make an alteration on an old word, than to invent a new term, in almost any case ; and especially when abstract conceptions are to be expressed. It is chiefly in this manner, that all languages of very great antiquity have been augmented. The situation of the Greeks rendered this way of enriching their native tongue necessary among them, though they had not been predisposed to it by any natural cause. They were divided into a great variety of small states, having all of them intercourse with one another, and standing in need of a common language. They could not meet to learn the signification of new words ; and, if such words had been invented in one

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state, its dialect would soon have become unintelligible to the rest.

On account of both these reasons, the Greeks were obliged, when new objects, actions, or relations occurred, to convey their meaning, for the most part, by making changes on the words which they already possessed. They varied their terminations, combined them with one another, and derived new terms from those that were formerly in use. After a change had been made upon one word, by analogy, they could easily make a similar change upon another, without running the smallest risk of being misunderstood. Their situation thus led them to form a language the most complex in derivation, and the most diversified in flexion, of any in the world. Of this language, the words of the primitive tongue, which they brought along with them at the time of their first settlement in the isles of the Gentiles, must constitute a very small part; though still, after all the changes that happened during the revolution of ages, the industry of grammarians has collected many instances of similarity between it and the Oriental tongues; which sufficiently shew, that they sprung at first from a common original.

The greater part of the Asiatic nations did not experience such great and sudden revolutions as the Greeks. They addicted themselves
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to the indolent life of shepherds; and sunk at last into the stillness and listlessness of absolute monarchy. The new objects, actions, and relations that occurred to them, were much smaller in number than those which presented themselves to an active enterprising people. Hence, their languages underwent few changes; and, though there was little intercourse among the great and distant empires through which they were spoken, they continued to be rather different dialects than distinct tongues. Probably among those nations, the primitive language underwent fewer variations than in any other country.

There were many tribes and families that removed to regions of the world far distant from the primæval abode of man. They occupied countries, separated by great natural boundaries from the settlements of other tribes. They had no intercourse with other nations sufficient for the purpose of preserving similarity of speech. The circumstances in which they were placed determined their mode of life. Objects and actions occurred to them peculiar to the regions which they inhabited, and the employments in which they were engaged. In the course of ages, their original language became so much altered by gradual changes of pronunciation, and by the introduction of new words, rendered necessary

cessary from their situation, that their speech might at last be considered as no longer the same with that of their forefathers. They still, however, spoke a simple language, derived, by natural steps, from the original speech of mankind, without any intermixture of foreign terms and idioms ; and receiving its increase, like that of the Greeks, by flexion, composition, and derivation.

In this manner were formed those languages which arose immediately from the primitive tongue, and which, not without plausible reasons, have often been considered as being themselves original. These antient and simple languages bore little resemblance to each other. The scanty stock of words possessed in common by the tribes at the early period of their separation, constituted only a small part of the future tongues that were formed. Even these few sounds were uttered with such various inflexions of voice, as rendered them liable to great changes in different regions. Besides, the analogies by which they were deemed and compounded in one nation, were very different from those adopted in another ; and by this means alterations were made upon a primitive word in one country, so different from those which were made in another, that the resemblance was often lost.

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From those antient and simple languages have arisen the many various tongues at present spoken in the world. The political situation of mankind has perpetually been in a fluctuating state. Antient tribes and families are now intermixed and confounded with one another, in all the cultivated and well inhabited regions of our globe. Scarce is there a corner to be found where the original stock remains not yet incorporated with tribes of foreign extraction. Every country in the world that has ever made improvements in the arts of cultivation, has, at one time or another, presented a strong incitement to the covetousness and valour of neighbouring nations. It has, of consequence, been over-run by the arms of hostile tribes, and been taken possession of by right of conquest. The conquered people were not utterly extirpated by the conquerors; but the remains of them, after being brought under subjection, formed one government with those who had subdued them. The two nations gradually incorporated with each other, and mutually imbibed manners and customs which had not formerly belonged to them. They endeavoured to be understood by each other, and studied mutually to express their thoughts in the language that was foreign to themselves, but familiar to those among whom they lived. Hence, by degrees, one language arose from a combination of the

the two original languages spoken by the conquerors and the conquered, though very different in its form and structure from either of them *. A second conquest, by a different nation, often succeeded the first, and produced a new intermixture ; in consequence of which language received an increase of component parts, and receded farther and farther from its original structure.

Such conquests have introduced into the modern languages of Europe a much greater variety of primitive words than is to be met with in antient and more simple tongues. The terms made use of by both the conquerors and the conquered, when they expressed not precisely the same objects, actions, or relations, were retained. The language, however, lost, in other respects, as much as it thus gained in copiousness ; for derivation, combination, and flexion, were, in a great measure, laid aside as unnecessary. Abundance of separate words were introduced, after the intermixture of several tribes, speaking different languages, had taken place, for the purpose not only of expressing objects and actions, but even of appropriating a separate term to each of their modifications and relations. The variable terminations of such words as originally
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* See Dr Smith's Considerations concerning the first formation of languages.

had them, were laid aside ; the want of them was supplied by other terms, and only the inflexible part of the word was retained. Compound words, for the most part, also became obsolete, their places being occupied by shorter sounds, chosen from the component language, that most readily presented them. A derivative word, of considerable length, was often mutilated by the part of the aggregate nation that was least acquainted with it ; and, in process of time, feeble sounds were omitted, in the hurry of pronunciation. Hence many modern languages have a tendency to become monosyllabical. This, indeed, was perhaps the original state of language, but with this difference, that, in the first language, words were few ; whereas, in modern languages, they are numerous. Perhaps, too, in the primitive tongue, words abounded in vowels, as being most favourable to inflexions of voice ; and, in modern tongues, which require distinct articulation, combinations of consonants are very common.

The language of China is nearer the monosyllabical state than any other. It consists, we are told, almost entirely of monosyllables, incapable of augment or flexion. China has been more frequently over-run by foreigners than any country in the world ; and, from the intermixture of strange nations, its language has undergone the
greatest

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had

* See Dr Smith's Considerations concerning the first formation of languages.

had them, were laid aside ; the want of them was supplied by other terms, and only the inflexible part of the word was retained. Compound words, for the most part, also became obsolete, their places being occupied by shorter sounds, chosen from the component language, that most readily presented them. A derivative word, of considerable length, was often mutilated by the part of the aggregate nation that was least acquainted with it ; and, in process of time, feeble sounds were omitted, in the hurry of pronunciation. Hence many modern languages have a tendency to become monosyllabical. This, indeed, was perhaps the original state of language, but with this difference, that, in the first language, words were few ; whereas, in modern languages, they are numerous. Perhaps, too, in the primitive tongue, words abounded in vowels, as being most favourable to inflexions of voice ; and, in modern tongues, which require distinct articulation, combinations of consonants are very common.

The language of China is nearer the monosyllabical state than any other. It consists, we are told, almost entirely of monosyllables, incapable of augment or flexion. China has been more frequently over-run by foreigners than any country in the world ; and, from the intermixture of strange nations, its language has undergone the
greatest

greatest changes. What was the language spoken by its first inhabitants, cannot now be known; for, though there are antient writings preserved, which can still be read, the orthography is irrecoverably lost. The characters of the Chinese are not, as in other countries, representatives of sounds, but of things themselves; and are, therefore, equally accommodated to every tongue, and remain invariably the same, whatever revolutions the language may undergo. That their language, however, has suffered very great changes, is manifest from the following circumstance. The languages of China and Japan were originally the same. The proof of this fact is strong. The learned, in both countries, still make use of the same arbitrary marks, or hieroglyphics, and still denote the same object by the same character; and the writings of the one country are perfectly intelligible to the natives of the other, though read in different words. This coincidence could not have happened by accident. There must have been a time when the ancestors of those who inhabit both countries were united, and when the sounds by which objects were denoted, as well as their characters, were the same. Without a communication of this nature, it is impossible that the same class of arbitrary symbols could have been adopted in both empires. But, at present, the languages are so very different, that

that the speech of a Japanese is not understood by an inhabitant of China, nor the speech of an inhabitant of China by a Japanese. Japan was secured, by its insular situation and dangerous shores, from hostile invasion. Its antient language was not intermixed with the dialect of conquerors. But the frontier wall of China proved a feeble barrier against warlike nations; and every new conquest occasioned a revolution in language as well as in government.

T t

T o

To the R E A D E R,

THOUGH part of the following tale was formerly published in a periodical paper, it is hoped the enlarged form in which it now appears, will hinder its present publication from being considered as a transgression of the terms implied in the title page of this volume.

THE

THE
I N D I A N S.
A T A L E.

MARANO, amiable in her sorrow, sat alone by a shelving rock. She sought in solitude to indulge the anguish of her soul. She leaned on her snowy arm. Her tresses flowed careless to the gale. The blooming beauty of her complexion was flushed with weeping. Her blue eyes were full of tender anxiety. And her bosom heaved with repeated sighs.

‘ When will he return ?’ she said, ‘ my beloved Oneyo ! the husband of my affections !
‘ How I long to behold him ! Ye waves of Ontario, convey him to his native shore ; restore him to his friends ; restore him to my tender embrace. O when shall I behold him ?
‘ When will the swift canoe come bounding over the lake, and waft the hero to his gladsome isle ! Yes, thou happy isle ! Thy rocks, thy resounding glades, and thy forests, shall then rejoice. Gladness shall be in the village. The Elders shall come forth to receive him. The
‘ festival

‘ festival shall be prepared. Ah me ! Peradven-
‘ ture he hath perished ! Or now expires in some
‘ bloody field ! Impetuous in his valour, and
‘ eager in the ardour of youth, perchance he
‘ rushes on the foe, and falls !’ While Marano
thus indulged her inquietude, the venerable On-
nonthio was drawing nigh to console her. He
had perceived the uneasiness of her soul, and had
followed her unobserved from the village. He
was the father of Oneyo, one of the Elders of
the nation, revered for his wisdom, and beloved
for his humanity. Temperate in his youth and
active, in his old age he was vigorous and cheer-
ful. The furrows on his brow were not those
of anxiety, but of time. His gait was stately,
and his aspect gracious. He loved Marano with
the affection of a father. ‘ Be comforted,’ he said ;
‘ give not thy soul to despondency. The great
‘ Spirit who rides in the whirlwind, and speaks
‘ from the passing thunder, the father and go-
‘ vernour of all things, will protect thee. But,
‘ to merit his favour, be resigned to his will. It
‘ is impious to anticipate misery, and render our-
‘ selves unhappy before we are actually afflicted.
‘ Yet capricious inconsistent mortals, timid at once
‘ and presumptuous, tremble with the imagina-
‘ tion of danger, and complain, as if their suffer-
‘ ings were real. They create miseries to them-
‘ selves, and arrogantly charge them on the Al-
‘ mighty.

‘mighty. Beware, my daughter, beware of rebellion against the Almighty Spirit. If you repine inconsiderately, if you complain without actual cause, you rebell. He hath commanded us to be happy; he is ever offended with our disobedience; but, if we encourage groundless anxiety, we disobey. By destroying your own tranquillity, you are no less an enemy to the general system of happiness he hath ordained, than if you injured the peace of another. Be comforted. Oneyo may soon return loaded with the spoils of the Briton, and extolled by the gallant warriors of France.”

‘To see my husband return in safety,’ she replied, ‘is the sum of my desires. To see him loaded with the spoils of the Briton will be no addition to my joy.” The Indian seemed astonished. ‘Have you forgotten,’ she continued, ‘that I myself am a Briton? That I was carried violently from my father’s house, when the Outagami ravaged our land, and carried terror to the gates of Albany? My parents perished. I was yet a child; but I remember the bloody carnage. My brother, of riper years, was rescued; but I became the prey of their fury. Since that time, many years are elapsed; yet, at the name of Briton, my bosom glows with peculiar transport.’

‘I

‘ I fondly imagined,’ answered the Indian,
‘ that you loved us. We named you after the
‘ manner of our tribe. But your affections are
‘ estranged, and you languish for the land of
‘ your fathers. I called you my daughter ; but,
‘ Marano, you would leave me.’ Uttering these
words, he looked tenderly upon her. ‘ You
‘ would leave me,’ he repeated, and a tear rose
in his eye. Marano was affected. She clasped
his hand, and pressed it to her rosy lips. ‘ No,
‘ I will never leave thee. My heart is thine, and
‘ my beloved Oneyo’s. I revere thee. Can I
‘ forget thy compassion ? Can I forget the dread-
‘ ful day when the Outagami, in an assembly of
‘ their nation, decreed me a sacrifice to their
‘ God Areskoui. You was present, on an em-
‘ bassy from your people. Oneyo, in the bloom
‘ of early years, had accompanied his father. He
‘ was beside you. He sighed, when he beheld
‘ me weeping. Alas ! I was feeble, friendless,
‘ and beset with foes. Oneyo intreated you to
‘ relieve me. Your own heart was affected ;
‘ you interposed in my behalf ; you redeemed
‘ me, and called me your’s. Oneyo hastened to
‘ my deliverance ; he loosened my fetters, and
‘ clasped me to his breast. Our affection grew
‘ with our years ; you beheld it with kind in-
‘ dulgence, and ratified our wishes with your
‘ consent. I have heard of European refine-
‘ ments,

ments, of costly raiment, and lofty palaces ; yet
to me the simplicity of these rocks and forests
seems far more delightful. But if Oneyo re-
turns not, I am undone. Many moons have
arisen since, with the flower of our tribe, he
departed. The matrons are already wailing
for their sons.—Oneyo, alas ! is impetuous, and
the warriors of Albion are undaunted. The
blood of their foes has already tinged the Ohio ;
Canada trembled at their approach, and may,
ere now, have become the prize of their va-
lour. Ah me ! if thy son hath fallen, grief will
subdue thee ; I know the tenderness of thine
affection ; it will pull thee down to the grave.
Who, then, will be a comforter to me ? Who
will be my friend ? Among a strange people,
I have no father to protect me, no brother to
counsel and give me aid.'

Ononthio was about to reply, when an Indian
from the village accosted them. He told them,
with a sorrowful aspect, that the hopes of their
tribe were blasted, for that some Indians of a
neighbouring nation, having returned from Ca-
nada, brought certain intelligence of the total o-
verthrow of their friends ; that they had, with
difficulty, escaped ; that Oneyo was seen fierce
and intrepid in the heat of the battle ; that he
was surrounded by the foe, and must have fallen
a victim to their fury,

Marano

Marano was overwhelmed. Ononthio heaved a sigh : But the hapless condition of his daughter, and the desire of yielding her consolation, suspended and relieved his sorrow. ‘ If my son
‘ hath fallen,’ he said, ‘ he hath fallen as became
‘ a warrior. His praise shall be preserved by his
‘ kindred, and descend to posterity in the war-
‘ song. His name shall terrify the European,
‘ when the chieftains of future times, rushing
‘ fierce from their forests, shall surround his ha-
‘ bitations at midnight, and raise the yell of death
‘ in his ear. Oneyo shall not die unrevenge’d.’
‘ He shall not,’ interrupted the Indian. ‘ The
‘ messengers of our misfortune hovered, after
‘ the discomfiture of their allies, around the walls
‘ of Quebec. They surpris’d a party of the foe ;
‘ they have brought captives to our island : The
‘ Elders of the nation are now assembled : They
‘ have doomed them a sacrifice to the memory
‘ of the dead ; and defer their execution only till
‘ your arrival.’ ‘ Alas !’ said Marano, ‘ the sa-
‘ crifice of a captive will afford me small conso-
‘ lation. Will the death of a foe restore life to
‘ my husband ? Or heal his ghastly wounds ? Or
‘ reanimate his breathless bosom ? Leave me to
‘ my woe. Leave me to wail on these lonely
‘ mountains. Here I will not long be a so-
‘ journeyer. I will away to my love. I will meet
‘ him beyond the deserts, in some blissful valley
‘ where

‘where no bloody foe shall invade us. Leave me to my sorrow, for I will not live.’ She intreated in vain : The Indian was urgent, and Ononthis seconded his solicitation.

That nation of Indians of which Oneyo was a leader, inhabited an island in the lake Ontario. Their principal village was situated by a pleasant stream issuing from a rock, and running through a narrow valley into the lake. The surrounding hills were adorned with forests. The adjacent meadows were arrayed with verdure, or enamelled with flowers. The village was of a circular form, and was fenced by a wooden palisade. The walls of the cottages were composed of green turf with interwoven branches, and the roofs were covered with reeds and withered leaves. Every thing was simple. No pompous pillars, embellished with quaint devices and the parade of masonry, lifted the lofty edifice to the skies. No magnificent temples, no threatening battlements, no stupendous domes nor palaces, flattered the vanity of priests, politicians, and soldiers. The young men of the nation in the prime of health and vigour, were usually engaged in the chase. Their principal business was to provide sustenance for the community, or to defend them against any hostile assault. The women, and all who were too old or too young to engage in any toilsome or hazardous enterprise,

prise, remained at the village, and had a variety of occupations suited to their age and condition. They improved some adjacent fields for the culture of maize and other salutary plants. They also cultivated medicinal herbs, studied their virtues, and prepared them for use. The women, besides the care of their children, and other domestic concerns, were dexterous in weaving apparel, the materials of which were supplied by the rind of odoriferous trees; and in extracting tinctures from various herbs and blossoms, to stain the faces of their warriors, and render their aspect more terrible in the field. They were particularly ingenious in weaving strings and girdles of Wampum. These, according as the colours were variously combined, served them as tokens of friendship to their kindred, allies, and the captives whom they adopted into their tribe. Their children were early inured to labour, danger, and fatigue; and were soon initiated in the use of the bow, the oar, the tomahawk, and the javelin. When their young men returned from the chase, or from any warlike expedition, the whole village was a scene of joy and festivity. Both old and young mingled in the dance, and recorded the exploits of their warriors in the song. But, when any business of consequence was to be transacted, every thing was conducted with gravity and composure. The
Elders

Elders of the village, who were promoted to authority not by fraud or violence, but who were revered, agreeably to the simplicity of nature, for their wisdom and experience, assembled in an open space in the centre of the village, and deliberated beneath a venerable oak. The business was proposed, and every one declared his opinion sedately, and without interruption. Their decrees were ratified by a majority of voices, and every one acquiesced in their decisions. In this manner they lived innocent and happy. As they had no particular property, they were untainted with the love of wealth, that bane of social felicity, that poison of the heart. As they possessed every thing in common, they knew not the pangs of avarice, nor the torment of apprehended poverty. No sort of consequence was conferred by riches, and they were innocent of guile, perfidy, and oppression. Power and authority could only be obtained by superior and acknowledged merit ; they were exerted without any vain parade ; there was, therefore, no room for ambition, no occasion of envy, nor any incitement to revenge. Temperate, and inured to labour, they were brave, vigorous, and active. Their affections of love and friendship, as they were unwarped by unnatural distinctions, and unrestrained by supercilious and pedantic formalities, were ardent and unaffected. They expressed

pressed their emotions with all the freedom and simplicity of nature ; their joy was rapturous, and their sorrow vehement.

They were, therefore, no sooner informed of the death of Oneyo and of their brethren, than they abandoned themselves to loud lamentation. The matrons, with rent garments and dishevelled tresses, ran forth into the fields, and filled the air with their wailing. They then crowded around the captives, whom, in the bitterness of their woe, they loaded with keen invectives. The Elders were assembled : The boiling caldron into which the victims, after suffering every species of torment, were to be precipitated, was suspended over a raging fire ; the knives, tomahawks, and other implements of cruelty, were exhibited in dreadful array ; and the prisoners, loaded with heavy fetters, were conducted to the place of sacrifice.

Though Marano was deeply afflicted, the screams of the Indians, and the horrid preparations of torture, drew her attention to the prisoners. She regarded them with an eye of pity. Their leader, in the prime of youth, was comely, vigorous, and graceful. The fullness of undaunted and indignant valour was portrayed by nature in his fearless aspect. His eye, full of ardour and invincible firmness, surveyed the preparations of death with indifference, and shot defiance

defiance to the foe. His followers, though valiant, seemed incapable of the same obstinate resolution, their features betrayed symptoms of dismay; but, turning to their leader, they were struck with his unshaken boldness, they resumed their native courage, and armed their minds with becoming fortitude. Marano sighed. The sense of her own misfortune was for a moment suspended. ‘Peradventure,’ said she in her soul, ‘this valiant youth, like Oneyo, may be lamented. Some tender maiden, to whom his faith has been plighted, may now languish for his return. Some aged parent, whose infirmities he relieved and supported, may be sighing anxious for his safety. Or some orphan sister, helpless and forsaken like me, may, by his death, be made desolate.’ She then reflected on her own condition, and on the variety of her misfortunes. Carried into captivity in her early years, she was a stranger to her people and to her kindred. Her husband no longer existed; and he who had been to her as a father, overcome by age and calamity, was now declining into the grave. Yet, alive to compassion, she was moved for the unhappy victims. She admired the magnanimity of their leader, and in regarding him, she felt unusual emotions, and a pang that she could not express. She longed to accost him. ‘He was of her nation! Could she behold

‘ behold him perish, and not endeavour to save
‘ him ! Could she behold him tortured, nor shed
‘ a tear for his sufferings !’ Meantime one of the
Elders of the nation made a signal to ‘the multi-
tude. Immediate silence ensued. Then, with
a look of stern severity, he thus expressed himself
to the captive ! ‘ The caldron boils, the ax is
‘ sharpened. Be prepared for torture and pain-
‘ ful death. The spirit of the deceased is yet a-
‘ mong us : He lingers on the mountains, or
‘ hovers amid the winds. He expects a sacri-
‘ fice, and shall not chide our delay. Have you
‘ a parent or a friend ? they shall never behold
‘ thee. Prepare for torture and painful death.’
‘ Inflict your tortures,’ he replied, ‘ my soul
‘ contemns them. I have no parents to lament
‘ for Sidney. In Albany they were massacred,
‘ massacred by inhuman Indians. I had a sister
‘ —I lost her. She was carried into captivity,
‘ and became the victim of your savage fury. I
‘ have friends, but they are fearless, for they are
‘ Britons. Inflict your tortures : My soul con-
‘ temns them ; but remember, the day of ven-
‘ geance shall overtake you.’

Marano was astonished—‘ Of Albany ! Reft
‘ of his parents by the sword ! And of a sister !’
—Suffice it to say, he was her brother—Mutual
was their amazement, their affection mutual.
She fell on his throbbing breast. He received
her

her into his arms. His soul was softened. Marano for a time was speechless. At length, weeping, and in broken accents, ‘ And have I
‘ found thee ! A brother to solace and support
‘ me. Who will soothe me with sympathizing
‘ tenderness ! Who will guide me through the
‘ weary wilderness of my sorrow ! Who will be
‘ to me as a parent ! I was desolate and forlorn ;
‘ my soul languished and was afflicted ; but now
‘ I will endure with patience.’ Then turning to
the astonished multitude, ‘ He is my brother !
‘ born of the same parents ! If I have ever merit-
‘ ed your favour, O save him from destruction.’
They were deeply affected. ‘ Be not dismayed,’
said Ononthio. He spoke with the consent of
the Elders : ‘ Be not dismayed. The brother
‘ of Marano shall be to us as Oneyo.’ Then ad-
dressing himself, with an air of dignity, to the
stranger. ‘ Young man, I have lost a son, Ma-
‘ rano a husband, and our nation a gallant war-
‘ rior. He was slain by the people of your land,
‘ and we are desirous of gratifying his spirit be-
‘ fore it passes the mountains, by offering a sa-
‘ crifice to his memory. But you are the bro-
‘ ther of Marano ; by her intercession we have
‘ changed our design, and adopt you into our
‘ tribe. Be a brother to our people, and to me
‘ a son. Supply the place of the dead ; and, as
‘ you possess his valour, and steady boldness,
‘ may

‘ may you inherit his renown.’ So saying, he presented to him the Calumet of peace, and a girdle of Wampum. Sidney listened to him with respect, but expressed amazement at a change so unexpected. ‘ To have given him his life, would not have surprised him ; but the transition from resentment to ardent and immediate friendship, exceeded his comprehension.’ ‘ You reason,’ answered the Indian, ‘ according to the maxims of Europeans, whose external guise is imposing, but whose souls are treacherous and implacable. They array their countenance with smiles, while perfidy is in their bosoms ; and they give the hand of friendship while they meditate injury. As their resentments are ever mingled with malice, they are lasting. They are not satisfied with testifying a sense of injury or insult sufficient to secure them from future wrong, but endeavour to ruin the offender, and overwhelm him with utter infamy. Conscious of the bitterness of their own souls, they impute a corresponding temper to their adversaries. Their resentment, instead of being lessened by gratification, grows inveterate by fear, it waxes into hatred, and thus it becomes easier for them to forgive the wrong they suffer, than the injury they inflict. The implacable unforgiving temper, produced by malevolence, timidity, and conscious weakness,

‘ ever

‘ ever predominates in effeminate and feeble na-
‘ tures. But the resentment of generous souls
‘ is liberal, and leaves room for reconciliation
‘ and future friendship. Men of mild and be-
‘ nevolent dispositions, unpolluted by covetous
‘ or ambitious desires, and therefore unimbitter-
‘ ed by their unhappy effects, by envy, rancour,
‘ and malice, are magnanimous without any ef-
‘ fort, ever desirous of being forgiven, and ever
‘ apt to forgive. You was about to suffer death,
‘ and you accuse us in your heart with cruelty.
‘ But it is uncandid to pronounce of any man,
‘ to whom the great Spirit hath imparted reason
‘ and reflection, that he is more depraved than
‘ the wild beasts of the desert ; for even they are
‘ not cruel, but in their own defence, and for
‘ their own preservation. Judge not, therefore,
‘ of our conduct till you are acquainted with our
‘ motives, and have reflected on our condition.
‘ He truly is barbarous and inhuman, who, to
‘ satisfy some lewd or selfish appetite, unworthy
‘ of reason, unworthy of human nature, destroys
‘ the peace of the innocent, practises guile against
‘ the unsuspecting, oppresses the feeble and de-
‘ fenceless, betrays the friend of his bosom, or
‘ sells the freedom of his people for gold. But
‘ the simple Indian is not inhuman. Our rea-
‘ son may be obscured, but our principles are

‘innocent. Our passions may be excessive, but
‘they are not corrupt. Deeply afflicted for the
‘calamity that hath befallen us, and moved with
‘high veneration for the memory of a gallant
‘warrior, we thought of gratifying his spirit,
‘and of paying a tribute due to his virtues. As
‘we grieve not for the deceased who is happy,
‘and whose memory will be for ever revered ;
‘but for ourselves, who are deprived of him,
‘our intention was not to injure you, but to ho-
‘nour the dead. You was about to suffer death,
‘but, to a resolute and undaunted warrior, death
‘is not an injury ; it exempts him from corpo-
‘real infirmities, and conveys him to the western
‘vales of the blessed. Death is not a misfortune
‘but to the feeble, to those whose lives have
‘dishonoured their memory, who disgrace their
‘nature by unseemly fears, and affront the Al-
‘mighty with their distrust. We admired your
‘intrepidity and perseverance ; and, conscious
‘of having entertained no sentiment of hatred
‘or malignity against you, nor any intention of
‘exposing your memory to insult or contempt,
‘without fear or reserve, we now offer you our
‘friendship.’

‘Can I,’ answered the European, filled with
astonishment and admiration, ‘who am of a dif-
‘ferent origin, born of a people whom you have
‘reason

‘ reason to execrate, and the votary of a different
‘ religion, can I be adopted into your nation ?”

‘ It is the language of prejudice,’ replied O-
nonthio, ‘ the simple, unaffected Indian, the
‘ child of nature, unwarped by servile prepossession,
‘ fions, is a stranger to your distinctions. Is not
‘ the great Spirit the father of us all? are we not
‘ all children of the same family? and have we
‘ not, in the structure both of body and mind,
‘ undoubted evidence of the same original? Nature,
‘ ever wise and provident for her children,
‘ attaches us to our friends, and rivets in magnanimous souls the unshaken love of their country.
‘ But Nature never commanded us to hate
‘ or condemn the stranger. Avoid the contagion
‘ of vice, avoid all those whose corrupt and degenerate nature may contaminate the purity of
‘ your innocence, and infect your bosom with
‘ guilt. But every other distinction, estranging
‘ us from mankind, and setting us at variance
‘ with society, is the offspring of pride and ignoble prejudice. That you are of a different
‘ religion, I deny. Like the Indian, you acknowledge the power, wisdom, and benignity of
‘ the creating Spirit: It matters not though the
‘ external form and mode of your acknowledgment be different, or though you discover his
‘ clemency and omnipotence in extraordinary
‘ and peculiar displays. Enjoy your faith, your
‘ freedom,

‘freedom, and the love of your country; but
‘give us your friendship and intrepid valour.’

To this he replied, ‘Though I applaud free-
‘dom and elevation of sentiment, though I re-
‘gret the bigotry and narrow prejudices that
‘disgrace human nature, even in enlightened
‘ages, yet I cannot allow that the uncivilized
‘life of an Indian is preferable to the culture
‘and refinement of Europe.’

‘Away with your culture and refinement,’
said Ononthio; ‘Do they invigorate the soul, and
‘render you intrepid? Do they enable you to
‘despise pain, and acquiesce in the will of hea-
‘ven? Do they inspire you with patience, re-
‘signation, and fortitude? No! They unnerve
‘the soul. They render you feeble, plaintive,
‘and unhappy. Do they give health and firm-
‘ness? Do they enable you to restrain and sub-
‘due your appetites? No! they promote intem-
‘perance and mental anarchy. They give loose
‘reins to disorder. The parents of discontent
‘and disease! Away with your culture and re-
‘finement! Do they better the heart, or im-
‘prove the affections? The heart despises them.
‘Her affections arise spontaneous. They require
‘no culture. They bloom unbidden. They are
‘essential to our existence; and nature hath not
‘abandoned them to our caprice. All our af-
‘fections, as we received them from nature, are
‘lively,

‘ lively, and full of vigour. By refinement they
‘ are enfeebled. How exquisite the sensations
‘ of youth! In the early seasons of life, ye are
‘ moved with every tale of distress, and mingle
‘ tears of sympathy with every sufferer. Ye are
‘ then incapable of perfidy, and hold vice in ab-
‘ horrence. In time ye grow callous; ye be-
‘ come refined; your feelings are extinguished;
‘ ye scoff at benevolence, and reckon friendship
‘ a dream. Ye become unjust and perfidious;
‘ the slaves of avarice and ambition; the prey of
‘ envy, of malice, and revenge. Away with your
‘ refinement! enjoy the freedom and simplicity
‘ of nature. Be guiltless—Be an Indian.’

Meantime, the arrival of some canoes, filled with armed warriors, attracted the notice of the assembly. They were transported with ecstasy and surprise when they descried the ensign of their nation, and recognized some of their brethren, whom they imagined slain. The hopes of Marano were revived. She inquired eagerly for Oneyo. ‘ He perished,’ answered an Indian. She grew pale, her voice faltered, faint and speechless, she fell back on the throbbing breast of Ononthio. ‘ He perished,’ continued the Indian, ‘ and with him the prime of our warriors. ‘ The armies of France and Britain were mar- ‘ shalled beneath the walls of Quebec. Direful ‘ was the havock of battle. The earth trembled
‘ with

' with the shock of the onset. The air was tor-
 ' tured with repeated peals. The commanders
 ' of both armies were slain. Their fall was glo-
 ' rious, for their souls were undaunted. Resent-
 ' ment inflamed the combatants. Keen and ob-
 ' stinate was the encounter. Albion at length
 ' prevailed. Her sons, like a rapid torrent, o-
 ' verthrew the ranks of their adversaries. We
 ' counselled Oneyo to retire. Raging against
 ' the foe, and performing feats of amazing va-
 ' lour, we saw him environed beyond all hope of
 ' retreat. We saw the impetuosity of a youthful
 ' warrior, who brandished a bloody sword, rush-
 ' ing on to destroy him. We hastened from the
 ' field of death. We tarried some time in the
 ' adjacent forests, and observed the progress of
 ' the foe. The walls of our allies were over-
 ' thrown. The sword of Albion will pursue us;
 ' and our shield, our gallant warrior, our Oneyo,
 ' is no more.'

This melancholy recital filled the audience
 with lamentation. But their sorrow was inter-
 rupted by the sudden astonishment of the narra-
 tor. Casting his eye accidentally on the Briton,
 ' Seize him, tear him,' he exclaimed; ' his was
 ' the lifted sword I beheld! It was he cleft the
 ' breast of our chieftain! It was he that destroy-
 ' ed him.'

The

The resentment of the assembly was again inflamed. 'I am innocent of his blood,' said the captive. But his declaration, and the entreaties of Ononthio in his behalf, were lost in furious screams and invectives. They dragged him again to the place of sacrifice. Marano, distracted with contending woes, 'Spare him! spare him!' exclaimed, 'He is my brother!' Fixing her eyes on him with a look of exquisite anguish, 'whose hands are red with the blood of my husband! and was there none but thee to destroy him?' 'Tear him!' exclaimed the multitude. Marano clasped him to her bosom, and turning to the outrageous and menacing crowd, with a wild and frantic demeanour, 'Bloody, bloody though he be, I will defend him, or perish! Let the same javelin transfix us both! Smite, and our kindred gore shall be mingled.' The transcendent greatness of her calamity, who had lost a husband by the hand of a brother, and the resistless energy of her features, expressive of woe, tenderness, and despair, awed the violence of the assembly, and disposed them to pity. Ononthio took advantage of the change. He waved his hand with parental love and authority. His hoary locks gave dignity to his gesture. The usual benignity of his countenance was softened with sorrow. He spoke the language of his soul, and was eloquent; spoke the language of
of

of feeling, and was persuasive. They listened to him with profound veneration, were moved, and deferred the sacrifice. He then comforted Marano, and conveyed the captives to a place of security.

When they were apart from the multitude, 'Tell me,' said he to the Briton, 'are you guilty of the death of my son!' 'I know not,' he replied; for he had resumed the pride of indignant courage, 'I know not whom I have slain. I drew my sword against the foes of my country, and I am not answerable for the blood I have spilt.' Young man,' said Ononthio, full of solicitude and parental tenderness, 'O reflect on a father's feelings. I had an only son. He was valiant. He was the prop and solace of my old age; if he hath gone down to darkness and the grave, I have no longer any joy in existence. But, if he lives, and lives by thy clemency, the prayers of an old man shall implore blessings upon thee, and the great Spirit shall reward thee.' While he was yet speaking, a tear rose in his eye, his voice faltered, he sighed—'O tell me if my son survives.'

'I slew him not,' he replied. 'I know not that I slew thy son. To his name and quality I was a stranger. In the heat of the encounter a gallant Indian assailed me. He was tired and exhausted. I disarmed him; and my sword
' was

‘was lifted against his life. ‘Briton,’ said he, with a resolute tone, ‘think not that death dis-
‘mays me. I have braved perils and the sword.
‘I am not a suppliant for myself. I have an
‘aged parent, whose life depends upon mine;
‘the wife of my bosom is a stranger among my
‘people, and I alone can protect her.’ ‘Gene-
‘rous youth,’ I replied, ‘go comfort and protect
‘thy friends. I sent him forthwith from the
‘field. I never inquired into his condition; for
‘in preserving him I obeyed my heart.’ Mar-
no and Ononchio were overjoyed. But reflect-
ing that many days had elapsed since the discom-
fiture of their allies, and that hitherto they had
received no intelligence of Onayo, their joy suf-
fered abatement.

Meantime, Ononchio counselled his daugh-
ter to conduct the strangers to a distant re-
treat, and preserve them there, till, by his in-
fluence and authority, he had appeased the
violence of his brethren. ‘Judge not unfa-
‘vourably of my nation,’ said he, ‘from this in-
‘stance of impetuosity. They follow the imme-
‘diate impulse of nature, and are often extrava-
‘gant. But the vehemence of passion will soon
‘abate, and reason will resume her authority.
‘You see nature unrestrained, but not pervert-
‘ed; luxuriant, but not corrupt. My brethren
‘are wrathful; but to latent or lasting enmity
‘they are utter strangers.’

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It was already night. The Indians were dispersed to their hamlets. The sky was calm, and unclouded. The full-orbed moon, in serene and solemn majesty, arose in the east. Her beams were reflected in a blaze of silver radiance from the smooth and untroubled breast of the lake. The gray hills, and awful forests, were solitary and silent. No noise was heard, save the roaring of a distant cascade, save the interrupted wailing of matrons, who lamented the untimely death of their sons. Marano, with the captives, issuing unperceived from the village, pursued their way along the silent shore, till they arrived at a narrow unfrequented recess. It was open to the lake, bounded on either side by abrupt and shelving precipices, arrayed with living verdure, and parted by a winding rivulet. A venerable oak overshadowed the fountain, and rendered the scene more solemn. The other captives were overcome with fatigue, and finding some withered leaves in an adjoining cavern, they indulged themselves in repose. Marano conversed long with her brother; she poured out her soul in his sympathising bosom; she was comforted and relieved. While she leaned on his breast, while his arm was folded gently around her, a balmy slumber surprised them. Their features, even in sleep, preserved the character of their souls. A smile played innocent on the lips of
Marano,

Marano, her countenance was ineffably tender, and her tresses lay careless on her snowy bosom. The features of Sidney, of a bolder and more manly expression, seemed full of benignity and complacence. Calm and unruffled was their repose, they enjoyed the happy visions of innocence, and dreamed not of impending danger.

The moon, in unrivalled glory, had now attained her meridian, when the intermitting noise of rowers came slowly along the lake. A canoe was advancing, and the dripping oars arising at intervals from the water, shone gleaming along the deep. The boatmen, silent and unobserved, moored their vessel on the sandy beach; and a young man, of a keen and animated aspect, arrayed in the shaggy skin of a bear, armed with a bow and a javelin, having left his companions, was hastening along the shore. It was Oneyo. Having received wounds in the battle; he had been unable to prosecute his return, and had tarried with some Indians in the neighbourhood of Montreal. By the skilful application of herbs and balsams, his cure was at length effectuated, and he returned impatient to his nation.

‘I will return secretly,’ he said. ‘I will enjoy the sorrow and regret of Marano, and of my brethren, who, doubtless, believe me dead. I will enjoy the ecstasy of their affection, and their surprise on my unexpected arrival. My
‘lovely

‘ lovely Marano now laments unconsolated. I will
‘ hasten to relieve her, and press her weeping
‘ with joy to my faithful transported bosom.’

Such were the sentiments of anticipated rapture that occupied the soul of Oneyo, when he discovered Marano in the arms of a stranger. He recoiled. He stood motionless in an agony of grief, anger, and astonishment. Pale and trembling, he uttered some words incoherently. He again advanced, again recognized her, then turning abruptly, in bitter anguish, smiting his breast, ‘ Faithless and inconstant,’ he cried, ‘ and is this
‘ my expected meeting! In the arms of a stranger! Arrogant invader of my felicity! He shall
‘ perish! His blood shall expiate his offence.’ Fury flashed in his eye, he grasped his javelin, he aimed the blow, and recognized his deliverer. Surprise and horror seized him. ‘ Injured by
‘ my deliverer! By him whom my soul revered!
‘ And shall I dip my hands in his blood! My
‘ life he preserved. Would to heaven he had
‘ slain me! Thus injured and betrayed Oneyo
‘ shall not live. Thou great Universal Spirit,
‘ whose path is in the clouds! Whose voice is in
‘ the thunder! and whose eye pierces the heart!
‘ O conduct me to the blissful valley, for Oneyo
‘ will not live.’ He sighed. ‘ One look, one
‘ parting look of my love. I believed her faithful; for her I lived, for her I die.’ He advanced

ced towards her, he gazed on her with anguish and regret. 'She will not weep for me! faithless and inconstant. She will exult! Exult to behold me bleeding! And shall it be? For this have I cherished her? Lavished my soul on her? To be betrayed! To give her love to a stranger?' He paused, trembled, his countenance grew fierce, his eye wild, he grasped his javelin. —Marano named him: Her voice was soft and plaintive, her visions were Oneyo. 'O come,' she said, 'hasten to thy love! Tarry not my Oneyo! How I long to behold thee!' 'For this,' said he, 'I'll embrace thee.' He embraced her; she awaked, discovered her husband, and flew eagerly into his arms. He flung from her in fierce indignation. 'Away,' he cried, 'go cherish thy stranger. Away perfidious!' She followed him trembling and aghast. 'He is my brother.' 'Thy brother—Stranger,' said he to the Briton, who now approached him, 'you preserved my life. You are generous and valiant. Tell me then, am I to salute thee as a friend, and give full vent to my gratitude? Or, must I view thee as a guileful seducer, and lift my javelin against thy life?'

The Briton perceiving his error, answered him with brevity and composure: He related to him the circumstances of his captivity, and in
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confirmation appealed to the testimony of his father. The Indian was satisfied. He embraced them. They returned by morning to the village. Ononthio received them with becoming gladness, and the day was crowned with rejoicing.

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E S S A Y
ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF
ANTIENT AND MODERN LANGUAGES.

A Modern European, who pays attention to the languages of antiquity, is naturally struck with those peculiarities by which they are remarkably distinguished from the language which he himself acquired in his childhood. The most striking mark by which antient languages are distinguished from modern, is the great variety of flexions which they employ to express the several relations of objects, and the time and modifications of action. The manner in which this difference between antient and modern languages arose from the circumstances of mankind, has been excellently pointed out and illustrated by Doctor Smith.

Besides the variety of flexion, there is another peculiarity in the uncompound languages of antiquity, that appears remarkable to a modern European, to wit, the inverted order in which
words

words were placed both in speaking and writing. The arrangement of his own language is familiar to him ; and, in consequence of the ease with which he makes use of it, and the difficulty which he finds in comprehending what is arranged upon different principles, he is apt to think that it alone can be natural. The other form of arrangement appears to him to be arbitrary, and merely the work of art.

This conclusion, which a modern European is apt to form, is not void of some plausible reasons to support it. The general principles of grammar and syntax have a foundation in nature, and are accordingly the same in all languages. In the order of Nature, the agent or cause exists before the action, and the action is performed before the effect be produced. When a person, therefore, has occasion to mention the agent, the action, and the effect, it seems natural to follow the order in which they appear ; and to place, first, the word expressing the agent ; in the next place, the word expressing the action ; and, last of all, the word expressing the effect, or the thing acted upon. Accordingly, the rules of construction observed in all languages follow this order, and place the subjective member of the sentence first, the attributive next, and the objective last. The construction of antient, as well as modern languages, supposes

ses this rule, and is founded upon it. It appears, therefore, unnatural, at first sight, that the arrangement of words should not be directed by the same principle. The order, indeed, which this rule points out, is very often followed in antient languages; but this circumstance does not seem to arise from any regard to the rule, for it is also frequently deviated from. The transpositions which every where occur, appear evidently to be reducible to no grammatical principles. If no other account of the appearance can be given, we may be led by these considerations, to look upon the arrangement of antient languages as altogether arbitrary, the work of study and contrivance; and to call it artificial, as distinguished from the arrangement of our own, which we know to be natural.

It is evident, that the one of these peculiarities in antient languages necessarily supposes the other. There can be little inverted arrangement without variety of flexion. Words, which express things inseparably connected with one another, must always be understood as if they were joined; and their relation could not be perceived, unless it were denoted by some common mark. In modern languages, the connection of such words is generally pointed out by juxtaposition; because there is nothing in the words themselves that can answer the purpose. On

the other hand, the variety of termination in the antient languages, made it generally an easy matter to discover what words were closely connected, though they were not placed near one another ; and thus rendered a great variety of arrangement practicable, without much danger of ambiguity.

But, though the variety of flexion in the antient languages enabled those who spoke them to make a choice among several arrangements of the same words, each of which they could adopt without becoming unintelligible ; it may justly be called in question, whether this was the only circumstance that introduced inverted arrangement. That it is a circumstance, without which the varieties of arrangement which they made use of would have been impracticable, cannot be doubted ; but it would appear, that there must have been something farther that induced them to forsake the grammatical order. The order of construction would lead people to place words, expressing things intimately connected, close by one another, unless some consideration of importance directed them to a different arrangement. That they had it in their power to deviate, does not seem to be a sufficient reason for their deviating in fact.

There seems to be only one consideration, arising from the nature of language itself, that
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could lead to such an arrangement in any case ; and, though it undoubtedly had some influence, it is not of sufficient importance to have established an universal custom. The consideration I mean, is the preference in sound that one form of arrangement possesses over another. Men have unquestionably an attachment to harmonious arrangement in language ; and every nation has shewn this attachment in its early poetry. But this attachment will go no great length. It is relinquished, on all occasions, for the sake of expression ; and hence the sounds, in almost all languages, that signify any sort of exertion, are harsh. Besides, inversions are common in the rude jargon of barbarous nations, that cannot be supposed to have paid attention to melody, or any other object of taste, and that have scarce words, or rude sounds enough, to express their meaning with regard to the common necessities of life.

If men had been led to a transposed arrangement, by a regard to the harmony of their language, this form of arrangement might have been properly called artificial. On this supposition, they would have considered carefully in what order words might be placed to be most agreeable to the ear ; and the order which Nature points out would have been changed by design. But it will hardly be imagined, that almost

most any particular, with regard to the common language of any country, proceeded from design. Necessity forced men to invent words, for the purposes of social intercourse ; the sounds fixed upon were, in general, accidental ; flexion was fallen upon as the easiest expedient for expressing relation, time, and modification, and became universal from analogy. Pronunciation is the effect of custom. In these matters, there is no law-giver who has formed a code of regulations, or has studied what is best, and commanded men to adhere to it. Grammarians are philosophers, not law-givers. They have no existence till language is formed, and has become analogous from causes independent of design. They collect facts, and arrange them, and draw conclusions from them ; but they are allowed to make no innovations. In matters of language, the people claim, and exercise a right of making laws for themselves.

If these remarks be well founded, with regard to language in other particulars, it is reasonable to suppose, that the case is similar with respect to arrangement. It had, in all probability, an origin independent of art. It is true, indeed, that, after a language has become regular and polished, and, after the people who make use of it, have become attentive to elegance and beauty of expression, they will pay attention to
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the arrangement of words. They will readily observe, that, when placed in one order, they have more perspicuity, strength, or beauty, than when placed in another. They will make a choice among the various arrangements which the genius of the language, or the authority of custom, permits them to employ ; and will convert this, as well as other particulars, into an object of taste. But this was not the situation of those who first spoke in transposed language.

Transposition, such as we meet with in the antient languages, appears to arise from natural principles ; and may, therefore, be expected in every language that will admit of it consistently with perspicuity. The reason of it is not to be sought in the ingenuity and contrivance of those who invented the language, or made use of it, but in the common succession of thoughts in the human mind.

A man naturally utters his thoughts in the order in which they occur to him. This order varies according to the circumstances in which he is placed. A man who is keenly engaged in the performance of any action, does not see what he is doing, nor the effects that arise from it, in the same light in which they appear to the indifferent spectator. His thoughts, with regard to it, succeed in a different order from those of
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the man who is not interested in it. The mind of him who is agitated by any passion, is filled with reflections concerning what he has done or suffered, or intends to do. On the contrary, nothing enters into the mind of the cool spectator, but the actions which he has seen. Bring these persons to relate the transaction that has passed, and they will give their accounts of it in very different forms. He who was no way concerned in it, will endeavour to communicate to others, a view of the facts, in the same light in which they occurred to himself. He will inform you how the action began, how it was carried on, and how it was finished. The person who was engaged in it, will, on the contrary, represent, in strong colours, those circumstances which operated most powerfully upon his own feelings. He will speak, as if he endeavoured to gain your sympathy, or to rouse your indignation. The facts which he produces will not be arranged in the order in which they happened, but in the order in which his passion has thrown them to answer its own purposes. His narration will, of consequence, convey no clear view of the transaction. A child, who is much offended, commonly dwells upon such circumstances as convey a very imperfect notion of what has happened ; and, frequently, you must employ a great number of interrogatories before you understand the

the cause of his complaint. Upon this fact is founded the distinction of direct and indirect description, taken notice of by critics. The former of these describes objects and events, as they are in themselves, or as they appear to the dispassionate spectator: The latter expresses the feelings of a person who has beheld them with emotion, and who only selects such circumstances as have made an impression upon his own mind.

Since, then, our thoughts, upon many occasions, do not follow the order in which things really are, or in which events have happened, it is evident, that neither will the expressions of them follow that order. Speech will naturally follow the order in which the things which it expresses are suggested to the mind. A man, in all cases, when he is under no restraint, naturally utters first what is uppermost in his thoughts. He who is zealous about any thing that fully occupies his mind, does not begin to explain his conceptions with a formal preface, and then proceed to open up matters gradually to the understandings of his hearers; but enters at once into the middle of his subject, and, following the dictates of his own heart, addresses the passions of his hearers without intending it, not recollecting, that they have not yet received proper information. Lyric poetry, which usually represents the
passions

passions and feelings of an agitated mind, borrows this abrupt manner; and a great part of the poet's art lies in conveying proper information concerning the subject that has given occasion for so much warmth, without appearing to intend it.

It may naturally be expected, that what takes place in a speech expressive of the speaker's passions, will also take place in every part of it; and that the arrangement of words in sentences, especially if the force of habit be not powerful, must frequently deviate from the order of construction. A man will naturally name first that object which makes the greatest impression upon him, and afterwards the objects or actions connected with it. A man, who is speaking under the influence of admiration, anger, desire, or any other passion, mentions first the cause of his present emotions, and then the objects or circumstances united with it. It is obvious, that any one of those things which are expressed by the different constituent parts of a sentence, may be the immediate occasion of the emotion which is felt. The agent, the action, or the effect, may each of them produce the affection of love, admiration, fear, desire, or anger. On some occasions, even a quality, a circumstance, or a contingency, may be the immediate cause of the sensation. It is evident, then, that, if the nature of
language

language be such as will admit of it, any one of the constituent parts of a sentence may be placed first or last, according to the importance which it appears to possess in the imagination of the speaker. Still, however, the grammatical principles, which mark out the relations in which the different parts of the sentence stand to one another, remain unaltered, though the order which they point out be not followed.

If men were pure intelligences, without affections and passions, it is probable that there would be no inversions in language. If this were the case, the sole purpose of speaking would be to communicate information; and, in doing this, every man would follow the order of things, because it would be the same with the order of his own thoughts. He would first express the cause, then the action, next the effect, and last of all the circumstances or other peculiarities connected with them. He would follow, in every respect, the grammatical order, and it alone would be natural. But men are frequently under the influence of strong passions and affections. Hence it becomes one of the uses of language to express the emotions and feelings of the heart, as well as the perceptions and judgments of the understanding. Perhaps this use of speech, at all times, and especially among the first inventors of language, is more frequent than the other. Men

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express their admiration, their desires, and their resentment, more frequently than they relate or describe, with a view of communicating information. Hence they are naturally inclined to make frequent use of transpositions. If the language be uncompounded, and have great variety of terminations, by means of which the grammatical order can be discerned, though the order of the words be altered, as was the case in the antient languages, these transpositions will be frequently used. They will become equally familiar to those who are habituated to them with the grammatical order, and will naturally take place of it, when any circumstance of strength or beauty seems to give them a preference. We are as often affected by the objects acted upon, or the effect, as by the agent or cause. Of consequence, the oblique cases may be expressed first, as frequently as the nominative. When this order has obtained the authority of custom, men will make use of it when they are calm and deliberate, as well as when they are agitated. Accordingly, we find, that this is the case in antient languages. The verb or word which expresses action or passion may also sometimes stand first; because the action itself, independently of the agent or effect, may sometimes strike the imagination. This order, however, must be much less frequent than either of the former. It is generally
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the objects, and not the operation, with which we are affected. Though we know that the action is necessary to produce the change by which our emotions are excited, yet it does not make the principal figure among our conceptions. We are apt, indeed, when we study a language, to look upon the verb as the principal word in a sentence; and it is natural that we should do so, when we consider it in a grammatical light. It is the key of the sentence; and, till it be found, the other parts are inaccessible, and without meaning. But the action expressed by it does not commonly make so distinguished an appearance in the eye of a person who speaks a language, as it does in the eye of a grammarian. In the generality of cases, he considers the verb as nothing more than the word that connects together the subjective and objective expressions, and points out their connection, relation, or influence upon one another. It is essential to the sentence; for without it no meaning can be expressed; but it makes not a principal figure in the speaker's imagination. He will, therefore, in the generality of cases, be inclined to assign it the last place, and to mention first the two objects that more immediately interest him. This, accordingly, was the order established by habit in the Latin language; and Quintilian tells us, that every transgression of this rule was a transposition.

tion. When speaking concerning the propriety of ending sentences with verbs, he observes, 'Sine dubio omne quod non cludet hyperbaton est.' This established custom was of great consequence to the writers and orators of Rome. It enabled them always to keep a word in reserve, without which the sentence was not complete, till they had expressed the less essential circumstances, and thus rendered it impossible for them, without gross negligence, to make use of a sentence, which, as we express it, dragged a tail.

Sometimes, it may neither be the things which act, or are acted upon, nor the action itself, that chiefly interests the mind; but some modification, quality, or circumstance; and, in those cases, what are called the Terminative or circumstantial members of the sentence, may be those which will be first expressed by an agitated mind. This form of arrangement is not peculiar to the antient languages, but is common to all languages whatever. Now, says Hamlet, when meditating whether or not he should kill his uncle, whom he had found praying,

Now might I do it pat; now he is praying;
And now I'll do't.

It was the conveniency of the time that made the principal figure in his imagination.

It is to be observed, with respect to the transpositions of antient languages, that the order of
words

words was so far ascertained by custom, that it cannot be looked upon as arbitrary. The modern critics are in a gross mistake, who ring the changes upon the capital words of a sentence, and affirm, that the Roman manner of speaking admitted of arrangements equal to them in number ; and the moderns, who write in Latin, are in the same mistake, when they think they are writing the Roman language, while they are transposing words in whatever manner seems agreeable to their fancy or ear. The Roman arrangement was far from being in such an uncertain situation. Quintilian produces some instances of inversions which he thinks blameable, that would scarce appear to us to be inversions at all. He thinks the following sentence in Cic. pro Cluentio, needs an apology, though we would scarce consider it as uncommon. ‘ Animadver-
 ‘ ti, judices, omnem accusatoris orationem in
 ‘ duas divisam esse partes : In duas partes divi-
 ‘ sam esse,’ says he, ‘ rectum est, sed durum et
 ‘ incomptum.’ He censures the following expression of Domitius Afer, as affected, which we have often seen imitated, ‘ Gratias agam conti-
 ‘ nuo.’ Some inversions, he says, are entirely peculiar to poetry, and are inadmissible in prose, as in Virgil, ‘ Hyperboreo septem subjecta trioni ;’
 ‘ Quod oratio nequaquam recipiet,’ observes Quintilian. And the following arrangements in
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the poems of Mæcenas he thinks unallowable even in verse :

Sole et aurora rubent plurima.
Inter sacra movit aqua fraxinos.
Ne exequias quidem unus inter miserrimos viderem
Meas.

It appears, then, that the arrangement of anti-ent languages was not artificial nor arbitrary, but arose from Nature, and was limited by determinate boundaries. The anti-ents were as sensible as we are when violent transpositions were made use of. They collected uncommon inversions from their poets and orators ; and these collections have a place in their books of rhetoric.

After the German and Tartar nations took possession of the Roman empire, compounded languages were formed out of the different simple languages that had been spoken by the conquerors and the conquered. Variety of flexion, which is one principal characteristic of the anti-ent languages, was in a good measure lost, in consequence of the circumstances of the united people. The effect of this change was, that the other peculiarity of uncompounded languages was also in a considerable degree taken away. When variety of termination was no longer in use, the nominative and oblique cases of nouns,
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in the greater number of instances, could only be distinguished by their position. The place of the attributive member of the sentence was, for the most part, fixed after the subjective and before the objective. The grammatical order took place of the order which the operation of passion and affection had introduced, and custom had established, in the primitive languages of both people.

It is not to be supposed that the authors of the new compounded languages were more employed in the exercises of the understanding, or were less subject to the influence of violent passions, than their forefathers, the inventors of the primitive languages, had been. The operation of their affections and feelings should naturally have led them to retain the antient arrangement. But the operation of the causes which took away their declensions and conjugations was irresistible. Unacquainted with the principles of grammar, they could not learn the complex flexions of a foreign language. They were forced to make up a language of a simple form, which, from the nature of it, could admit of few inversions. They had no choice left, but to adopt the order of construction, or to become unintelligible.

The people, however, who had made use of this compounded language, had passions and affections equally strong with those of their forefathers.

thers. It is not to be imagined, therefore, that they would form a language that had no provision made for the expression of their feelings and emotions. Though the terminations of their language afforded no proper means for laying open their sensations, it may easily be believed that they were not destitute of expedients sufficient for the purpose. Even without the use of cases, and with very little flexion, the modern languages of Europe admit of variety in arrangement. They have active and passive voices, much more determined than those of the Romans. By substituting the one of these, instead of the other, it is easy for the speaker to place the subjective or objective first, according to his pleasure. By means of prepositions, and auxiliary verbs, a considerable variety of arrangement can be introduced, without producing ambiguity, though not so much as could be done by the terminations of antiquity. In the disposal of circumstances, all the variety of the uncompounded languages is admissible. Translators of antient authors seem frequently not to have been aware of the powers which the language in which they wrote possessed. They have generally formed their translations upon the grammatical order of the original. The consequence is, that the conceptions of the author are entirely disarranged in the translation, and the object which he placed

placed first is thrown to the end of the sentence. This appears to be one of the principal reasons that the generality of translations want vigour and spirit. The inconvenience might generally be avoided, and the conceptions of the author preserved in the order in which he put them, by the expedients which have been mentioned.

The capital circumstance in which modern languages differ from the antient, is, that, in the former, the place of the verb is almost invariably fixed to a situation where it does not produce the best effect. Active verbs can seldom be reserved for the close of a sentence, without transpositions which the analogy of modern languages will scarce permit. The place of the verb, as was formerly observed, is of little consequence to the expression of passion, because it is not the action that generally makes the principal figure in the imagination; and where it does, the verb can be put in the principal place, by an allowable inversion in the most compounded European language. The determinate situation of the verb is indeed a disadvantage in modern languages, in another respect. As it cannot be generally thrown to the close of the sentence, so as to preserve the suspense of the hearer, it requires art in the speaker to dispose of the circumstantial and terminative expressions among the principal members, in such a manner as to

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prevent a languid addition, after the sense is complete. We know, however, from the practice of the best writers, that this inconvenience is by no means insuperable.

The ease with which they who made use of the antient languages could keep up the attention, by the position of the verb, is the chief circumstance in favour of the antient arrangement. It is not, however, the only one. The varieties that could be introduced, without violating the laws of custom, contributed much to the harmony of speech, under the direction of a person who could make proper use of them. The variety that was admissible, appears to have been considerable, though it has been shown that it was not so great as has been often imagined.

With respect to strength and energy, so far as such properties depend on arrangement, antient and modern languages seem to be nearly on a level. In either of them, the object that principally affects the imagination may, by a proper management, be made to hold the principal place. In both, the order which custom has rendered the most general, expresses nothing either passionate nor affecting. The inverted order, antiently made use of in common conversation, presented no object to the mind in a striking point of view, any more than the order of construction

struction does to us. In both of them the deviations alone can be felt.

With regard to perspicuity, there appear to be some advantages on the side of modern languages. When a language is transpositive, it is not easy to tell what number of different terminations might be necessary to prevent all ambiguity, and to make the hearer necessarily perceive the relation that subsists among the words which are intimately connected. There can be no doubt, however, but such a number might be fallen upon. But the number made use of by the antients was not sufficient for the purpose. The writer or speaker was obliged to be upon his guard, even when expressing himself in the common form, lest his words should be susceptible of two meanings; and the best writers, after all their care, have not always been successful. Often the meaning to be chosen must be determined from the connection, and not from the words. The want of articles, and the omission of the personal pronouns, were great causes of this ambiguity; but it also arose, in a considerable degree, from the variations admissible in the common arrangement, and from want of determinate precision in the flexions. ‘*Chremetem audivi percussisse Demeam.*’ It is impossible, from this sentence, to say who was the sufferer. In the following, the meaning cannot be mistaken;

ken ; but the reference of the words is not determined by the grammatical rules of the language. ‘ *Visum esse a se hominem librum scribentem.*’ If we were not prevented by the sense, we would take the book to be the writer as soon as the man. This is often the case among prose writers ; but ambiguity is much more frequent among poets, who allow themselves greater liberty in transposition. It is not easy to tell how many senses the following line in Virgil might admit of, if we were to overlook its connection.

‘ *Saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus aras.*’

It may be what Virgil meant, ‘ The Italians call those particular rocks in the midst of the billows, altars ; or, they call rocks in the sea, in general, altars ;’ or, which seems, at first sight, the most obvious meaning, it may be, ‘ The Italians call altars, which are in the midst of the billows, rocks ;’ or, ‘ They call those particular altars, rocks ;’ or it may be, ‘ Men call all the rocks, or these particular rocks, in the midst of the Italian Sea, altars ;’ or, ‘ they call all the altars, or these particular altars, in the midst of the Italian Sea, rocks.’ There are more meanings of which it is susceptible. Some part of this ambiguity arises from the want of articles ; but a good part of it is owing to arrangement. A man could scarce find eight words in a modern language

language that could be disposed so as to admit of so many meanings. In all languages, indeed, there will frequently occur ambiguous expressions ; and it might be easy to produce numbers of them from modern poets, who make use of transpositions ; but they are not nearly so frequent as in the antient poets. In prose, the construction is usually determined precisely by the words, without any regard to the sense. The principal parts of a sentence are almost regularly known by their position ; and all relations and modifications are much more distinctly marked, by prepositions and auxiliary verbs, than they were antiently by cases and moods and tenses. As terminations are not regarded, we are free from all the confusion that arises from their ambiguity. For the purpose, therefore, of conveying information with precision, the arrangement of modern languages appears to possess some advantages over the arrangement of antient languages. It is sometimes defective in point of beauty and harmony ; but it possesses excellence of a much superior nature.

A

D I S C O U R S E

O N T H E

STRUCTURE of the EASTERN CHURCHES,
and the Celebration of MASS, according
to the Ceremonies of the GREEK
CHURCH.

FROM THE GREEK OF

SYMEON, Metropolitan of Thessalonica.

SINCE, moved by divine affection, ye are
desirous of understanding the symbols and
meaning of the rites performed at the celebra-
tion of mass, and of knowing the mysteries ty-
pified by the holy apparel, receive, in affection,
the explanation which I have given of them, and
which I undertook by the incitement and en-
couragement of the love of God, who so loved
us as to give his only begotten son to redeem
us. For he came to us in love, and sojourned
amongst

amongst us, and passed through the different stages of life, from infancy to manhood, that by his words, and by his deeds, we might be rewarded and satisfied. In fine, he gave himself to be shared amongst us. Now, since he became united to us by the corporeal principles he received from the Virgin, this union must necessarily and actually extend to all that believe. Thus truly we live, and are renewed; 'for,' says he, 'unless you eat the body, and drink the blood of the Son of Man, you have no life in you.' And again, 'I live, and who so feedeth upon me, liveth by me.' This work he graciously effectuated by the sacraments: For he hath regenerated us by baptism, begetting us in perfect purity. By the laying on of hands, and by inspiration, he infuseth the ointment of grace. He truly is the ointment: 'For my name,' he says, 'is poured out ointment.' Anointing himself as God, and being anointed as man, and thence graciously anointing us, he bestows on us the fragrant vivifying power of the Spirit. But the third and greatest gift is, that he hath made us partakers of himself, as he manifested at the institution of the sacraments. For he took bread and hallowed it, and likewise the cup; 'and this,' said he, 'is my body, and this my blood.' And he not only hallowed, but called us to partake: 'Take and eat,' says he, 'and let all drink of it.'

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He not only did so himself at that particular time, but appointed the performance of the same in all future time by his ministers. 'Do this,' says he, 'in remembrance of me.' We have just reason to remember him, since he, conforming himself to us, partook of our body and blood, and being God, assumed the appearance of man; and, with a view that we should participate of his divinity, in the most divine and incomprehensible manner, mingled himself with what we eat and what we drink. By his omnipotent power, he transforms bread and wine into body and blood. Thus he is blended and mingled with us; and, being the Sun of Righteousness, he beams upon us with pure radiance, not merely as a sun emitting splendour, but purifying the impure, and enlightening those that are capable of receiving the light.

Since, therefore, this is the mystery of sanctification, and the end of the divine incarnation; for thus we have fellowship with God, and by grace become divine creatures, the church of Christ carefully and devoutly continues the performance of its early institutions, and explains, by holy symbols, those things which exceed our understanding: For the visible actions which we perform partake of that great glory, that all may be astonished. But the understandings of all cannot penetrate their design; therefore, many
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are at a loss, and demand a reason for these things. But certainly the things which are thus figured exceed all human comprehension ; for not even angels can conceive the incarnation of God, and other mysteries promulgated by the church.

Yet God hath not left us entirely uninformed concerning the things which belong to himself, but hath initiated us in the knowledge of all that we are able to know and inquire after, and discover, and comprehend, since for our sake they were appointed.

Humble and inferior as I am, since you, however, esteeming my knowledge, have demanded from me an explanation of these things, in affection I will discuss them, collecting the greater part from the Fathers ; for I invent no new explanations, nor in any respect change what we have received from them, but preserve them untouched and entire, as the symbol of faith : For we celebrate mass, as it was instituted by our Saviour, and handed down by the Apostles and Fathers ; and as the Lord, while he yet sojourned with his Disciples, consecrated the bread, and broke it, and gave it unto them, and in like manner the cup, so also it is performed by the church. Holy Dionysius, the immediate successor of the Apostles, bears testimony to this institution, teaching us the holy rites of religion.

C c c

Chrysostom

Chrysostom and Basilus, those publishers of sacred things, when they explain the method of celebrating mass, recommend an order corresponding to the practice of our church. This is confirmed by the prayers used in the performance of mass, denoting the first and second entries, and all the other parts of the holy mystery.

That the Fathers intended that the edifice of the church should be held sacred, not accessible to all promiscuously, and that the older should be revered with uncommon awe, appears from the following authorities: All Catechumens were excluded. Ambrosius prohibited Theodosius from entering the temple, or approaching the altar. Gregorius, author of the *Dialogues*, not only testifies that sacrifice was offered with leavened bread, but held churches in veneration, and suffered no dead bodies to be buried within them. Isidorus of Pelusium, justly reckoned among the Fathers, in his *Epistles*, enjoins the celebration of mass in the manner practised among us. And Maximus, skilled in theology, hath explained every mystery of the holy liturgy, as it is celebrated in the catholic church, and hath interpreted the reason of every rite. Trusting in the grace of God, I write you the explanations given by those, and others of the Fathers, who were my predecessors.

First,

First, I treat of the Temple ; for, since the Temple and the Priest are the instruments employed in divine worship, the Priest to consecrate and the Temple to contain the altar, it is proper we should speak of both.

The temple, though it is constructed of wood or stone, is endowed with extraordinary grace ; for, dedicated with mystical prayers, it is anointed with holy ointment, and is rendered the habitation of God. Nor is it pervious to all ; but some parts may be entered by priests, and some by laymen. Being divided into two parts, the inner, which is concealed, and the outer, it is an emblem of **Christ**, who possessed two natures, the one of which was visible, and the other invisible. It is also a symbol of human nature, constituted of soul and body. It is emblematic of the Trinity, whose essence is incomprehensible, but which is known by its power and providence. In a particular manner, it figures the universe, which is partly visible, and partly invisible. The celestial part, which cannot be seen, is shadowed by the interior, and the terrestrial, or visible part, by the exterior division. In another view, the temple may be considered under a threefold division, the vestibule, or place before the temple, the temple itself, and the adytum ; and thus it is emblematic of the Trinity. Of the three distinct orders of blessed spirits, and of pious men, under

der the threefold distinction of priests, of laymen, perfect in the faith, and of those who are in the act of repentance. The structure of the temple also typifies earthly things. By the vestibule terrestrial things are typified, the sky and celestial bodies, by the temple itself, and heaven by the adytum.

The Lord of Heaven is denoted in the Adytum by the Awful Altar, or Sacred Table, which is likewise denominated the Holy of Holies, the Throne and Place of God, the Resting Place, the Mercy Seat, the Office of the Great Sacrifice, the Monument of Christ, and the Tabernacle of his Glory. The Celestial Tabernacle of God is typified by the Veil, or curtain of the Altar, the Abode of Angels, and Resting Place of the Saints. The lattices and divisions mark the difference between the objects of sight, and those that can be conceived of the understanding. The covering of the altar is divided into four parts, containing four angles; because the fullness of the church hath been completed from the extremities of the earth. And the names of the four Evangelists are in the angles; because by them the church hath been established, and the gospel hath pervaded the world. It is partly as a winding-sheet for the dead, and partly as a raiment of glory. As the psalm used in that service, which is usually sung when it is laid

laid on, expreffes it, ‘ The Lord hath reigned, ‘ and clothed himfelf with beauty.’ The altar is made of ftone, becaufe it denotes Chrift, who is called the Rock, our Foundation, the Head of the Corner, the Corner Stone ; and becaufe the rock from which, of old times, Ifrael quaffed water, was a type of this table. We now drink from it, not water, but the living blood of the Word : By the Holy Affeffor, the incarnate Word, fitting at the right hand of the Father in Heaven : By the fteps, are implied the order and gradual advancement of angels and holy men ; and the prieft is a type of Jefus, who is alfo denoted by the Gospel laid upon the Altar, and the Crofs, which indicates the facrifice. Under the table are the relics of martyrs, whole fpirits approach to Chrift, the great martyr of the Father. They are contained in the altar, the foundation of the church, becaufe the church was firft eftablifhed by the blood of Chrift, and then by the blood of the martyrs. It is fprinkled with ointment, becaufe it is replete with the fullnefs of the power of the fpirit, and contains the living confecrated ointment. It is covered, becaufe its contents are difficult to be feen or apprehended. It is moft elevated and moft fplendid, as the throne of God. The ranks of thofe approaching, denote the celeftial Virtues. Grace is figured by
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the incense diffused from it, and communicating itself around ; and the lights imply the perpetual and inexhaustible illumination of the righteous. These things, therefore, are shadowed by the Bema, or Adytum. The body of the temple is a figure of the terrestrial world, or of the celestial, so far as it is visible. When we pray before the temple, we consider it as heaven ; and it is assimilated to the Garden of Eden. On this account, in holy monasteries, while the music is without, the temple is covered with veils, which those who enter remove, manifesting, that Christ hath descended to us, hath removed the middle wall of partition, hath given peace, and hath led us up into heaven. Here sinners are not permitted to enter. The same mysteries are implied by the rites of dedication. But, when we pour out our prayers within, and perform the most awful ceremonies, the altar typifies Heaven, and the temple itself denotes the outward part, into which all are assembled.

The heap before the tribunal implies the stone rolled from the monument. The deacons and the elders represent the angelic body ; the first celebrating mass, the second performing their morning worship. The beauty of the temple is a type of the beauty of the creation. The lights suspended on high represent the stars ; and the circle in the middle marks the firmament. We
offer

offer oil, wax, and incense. Oil is a figure of divine compassion; wax extracted from a thousand flowers, denotes the entire oblation of ourselves, and a sacrifice of all we possess; and incense is a type of the divine favour, and of the sweet smelling gift of the Spirit poured out upon all. The priests beginning their sacred hymns within the Adytum, shadow the first rank of the spirits in the presence of God. The deacons, with the readers and singers of psalms, and the holy scriptures, denote the middle chorus of spirits. The assembly of the people, or those voluntarily invoking the mercy of God with hymns, denotes the last order of angels, with whom no wicked person, or heretic, may associate. For there is no fellowship of light with darkness; for, if any one turns to the light, he is denominated of those who are of the light. Now these things are figured to us by the temple; and more than these may be invented by those to whom God hath accorded the faculty of contemplation.

The priest in the sacred writings is denominated the Messenger of God, Omnipotent, as he announceth the precept and will of heaven. He also represents Jesus, because he obtains his power by consecration. But the chief priest is preferred to him, because he sits on the seat of Christ; and, from his abundance, can bind or dissolve. The chief priest is the successor of the apostles;

apostles ; and, therefore, in the performance of sacred things, he is clothed with those holy vestments, which contain all spiritual testimony, and emblems of spiritual gifts. Of these we discourse according to our capacity.

The clergy, who are ordained within the Adytum, are divided into three classes, the Episcopus, the Priest, and the Deacon. Of these the Episcopus is said to be most illuminated ; because he has the power of bestowing light upon others. For all the priests receive the seal of their order from him ; by him temples are dedicated ; and by him baptism, sanctification, the remission of sins, and the sacraments, are administered to the laymen. The Presbyter is called the most perfect ; because he has the power of initiating others in the sacred mysteries ; but he cannot communicate this power. He may baptise and consecrate, but cannot impart this power to others. The Deacon is said to minister, because he holds the place of a servant ; and this is the lowest order of priests.

Each of these has the dress of his order. The deacons dress typifies the lowest order of angels. The priest has the same, because he received the charisma of the deacon ; and his epitrachelion shews, that he has been sanctified and initiated. Besides, to these other ornaments, the episcopus adds a pallium, an emblem of the incarnate Son
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of God. When he clothes himself with the holy vestments, the first which he puts on is the sticharion, which represents the lucid raiment of angels ; because we know that angels have often appeared in white apparel ; for he that appeared at the tomb of Christ was thus arrayed. It testifies likewise, that the priestly state is free from spot or blemish ; and to this the priest gives evidence, pronouncing as he puts it on, ‘ My soul shall rejoice in the Lord, who hath clothed me with the garment of salvation.’ This garment is worn by the deacon, who holds the angelic rank, and who bears the orarium on his shoulders. Upon the orarium wings are represented ; and it indicates the pure and spiritual nature of the angelic rank. Thus, about to partake of the sacrament, he girds himself as the cherubims, who cover their faces. On the orarium are the words wrote, ‘ Holy, Holy, Holy,’ which indicate the order of ministering angels. Descending rivers are figured on the sticharion of the chief priest, to represent his grace of instruction. For, even among angels, some are of higher, and some of lower orders ; and the wisest instruct their inferiors. The Lines are called Rivers, because our Saviour hath said in the gospel, ‘ Whoso believes in me, rivers of living water shall flow from his belly.’ The same is indicated by the mandya, or cloak ; which, for the

reason above mentioned, is also figured with rivers. Cups, representing the Old and New Testament, are placed in the rivers, denoting, that, from these two sources alone, the teacher must draw his instruction. This, therefore, is the meaning of the sticharion. The trachelion implies, the perfect grace of the Spirit, which descendeth from heaven. For this reason, when the priest cloaths himself with it, he says, 'Blessed be God who poured grace upon his priests.' And, therefore, priests of every rank wear it when they perform any sacerdotal office. The girdle is an emblem of the ministry undertaken by Christ, and which he continues to perform. 'For,' says he, 'he girds himself, and makes them sit down, and will minister unto them.' It likewise implies his strength and greatness: 'Blessed be God,' says he, 'who girds me with strength.' But, beside the girdle, the chief priest wears the hypogonation, which denotes our victory over death, the immortality of our nature, and the strength of the Saviour against the wicked tyrant; it is, therefore, shaped like a sword, and tied upon the loins. This is also manifested by the words used in putting it on: 'O strong man, gird thy sword upon thy thigh.' The epimanica are emblems of the omnipotent active power of Christ, and of the sacrifice of his body broken by his own hands.

hands. This meaning is elucidated by the words when they are put on: ‘Thy right hand, O Lord, is glorified in power; and thy hands made me and fashioned me.’ Some assert, that the epimanica denote the bonds in which Christ was presented to Pilate.

The Casula denotes the sublime power of the Spirit. It has the form of a bag, to represent the sackcloth with which our Saviour was clothed in derision, and is without sleeves: That which the dignified chief priests use, and which is called Saccus, renders this more manifest. The casula which other priests carry, and are filled with crosses, is a sign of the passion of Christ; and that they undertake to imitate him, who, by the cross and suffering, satisfied justice, and vindicated our liberty against the Oppressor. Besides, when it is put on, the priest says, ‘Thy ministers, O Lord, are clothed with justice, and exult in thy exaltation:’ For justice, by means of the cross, hath brought us exaltation. With all these garments, except the Epigonation, the priests and deacons are clothed; and they imply the mysteries we have explained.

But the Chief Priest shows his pontifical power by the Omophorion, which belongs peculiarly to himself. It is wrought of wool, and hangs in a circular manner around his shoulders, both before and behind. This, without doubt, indicates

indicates the mortal body, and common nature, assumed by the Word. It is made of wool, to imply the lost wandering sheep, or the human nature, which our Saviour took upon him; and also because he is called a Lamb slain for us. This explanation is confirmed by the words used by the priest when he clothes himself with it: 'You, O Christ, having taken our nature upon thy shoulders, presented it to God the Father.' So much for the Sacred Vestments. All the orders of the eastern priesthood, except the Patriarch of Alexandria, perform their sacred offices with their heads uncovered; not to express humility, but for a much holier and sublimer reason, suggested by the Apostle Paul: 'For Christ,' he says, 'is the head, and we the members; therefore, when we pray, in honour of Christ, our head should be uncovered.' Another reason may be offered, viz. that, when we take orders, our heads are uncovered; and that all the duties of religion should be performed in the same manner as when we are ordained. Add to this, that, when the chief priest consecrates, he holds the gospel upon his head. It will, therefore, be said, that the Patriarch of Alexandria does wrong, who acts contrary to this rule. But this I do not assert. For there is a tradition, or rather a law, even amongst us, which enjoins the use of the mitre; perhaps to indicate the crown of
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of thorns, or the napkin, worn by our Saviour. But since even the Alexandrian patriarchs lay down the mitre while they celebrate the sacrament, they testify, by this act, that the institution of Paul is the best. The Chief Priest, descending from his seat, when he is about to perform the duties of religion, is a type of the word of God descending to mankind. Clothing himself with the sacred vestments, he represents the incarnation. Walking downward, to the gates of the temple, and turning his face to the west, he represents his residence upon earth, and his descent to death and the grave.

When the Mass begins, and the Chief Priest gives the signal, all must be attentive. The priests are employed in prayer within ; and the singers without chant the Antiphona, which are composed of three parts ; and these psalms are sung first, indicating the incarnation of the Word, and which contain prophecies concerning it. These are succeeded by hymns, denoting that grace is perfected in us, by the complete incarnation and operation of Christ. The Virgin Mother of Christ is also worshipped ; and we implore her intercession, saying, ‘ Save us, O Saviour, by ‘ the prayers of the Mother of God.’ We then make mention of the saints, who are perfected by contending for the Holy Mysteries, and call to our aid their applications ; and, lastly, extolling
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ing the Author of our salvation, we chant, 'Save us, O Son of God.' They sing psalms, composed with hymns ; and in these they celebrate the incarnation, and also the Virgin.

After the Chief Priest hath performed these sacred ceremonies without, the Deacons stand around, who represent, not only the Apostles, but the Angels who ministred to Jesus in holy things. The priests, who finish their prayers after they come down from the Bema, figure the Descent of the Angels at the Ascension of Christ. The Gospel, then, is brought down, preceded by lighted tapers, and deacons walking two by two, and followed by the priest, who is also attended and supported by deacons. The other priests follow immediately after, singing, 'Come let us worship Christ,' and greeting the priest. The Resurrection and Ascension of Christ is shadowed of by the deacon, who carries the gospel, and crying, 'εὐφραίνεσθε.' The chorus of priests and deacons, as we have already said, represent the Apostles who were present with the Lord, and who beheld him and the Holy Angels. The Chief Priest, in some measure, figures Christ risen from the dead, and appearing to his disciples. Thus, the space of the temple, as we have already said, represents the earth, and the interior part the heaven. For, as David prophesied, Angels conducted the Lord into heaven, crying,
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with a loud voice to their superiors, ‘ Lift up ‘ the gates,’ pronouncing Christ powerful, and a King of Glory. The church figures this, by containing the priest, while he enters into the sacred place ; and the same thing is denoted by the gates, which are closed before the priest approaches them, and are set open for his admittance.

After he enters, incense is burnt around the sacred table ; which ceremony shews the presence of the Holy Spirit, which came to us after the ascension of Christ. The priest sealing the Gospel with two pieces of wax, implies the illumination by the double nature of Christ. For the incarnation of the Word not only illuminated men but angels ; and also, that the person incarnated was the Son of God.

The Thrice Holy, which immediately follows, shews the mystery of the Trinity revealed to us by the incarnation of one of its persons ; and likewise the concert and union of men and angels. Therefore it is sung by the clergy within, and the laymen without, since the Church, by Christ, is composed of men and angels. The High Priest also, by sealing the gospel with three pieces of wax, indicates the Trinity announced in the gospel. But, when he ascends into the seat, and seals it with triple wax, he figures our sanctification by the Trinity ; its splendour, which
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is typified by the light, and the blessing bestowed upon us. Sitting in the seat, he imitates Christ. He has priests, his assessors, to represent the Apostles, and speaks peace and unity to all. For Paul says, 'That Christ hath loosed all enmities ' by his body, and hath made one what was in ' heaven and on earth.'

Then these parts of Scripture are read which have regard to the mission of the Apostles, the priests sitting, but the deacons standing, because the former have got Apostolic grace to publish the gospel. The hymn Alleluia is sung in praise of God, and to indicate the coming of grace, shadowed by reading the Gospel. Then the Gospel is read, to denote that it was published to all after the ascension of Jesus. The Epistles are read after, because the Apostles are first strengthened, and then enter upon their office. Incense is scattered before the Gospel, to indicate that, by means of the Gospel, Grace and Spirit are bestowed upon men.

While the Gospel is reading, the priest puts off his Pallium, to denote his subjection to Christ. For, since Christ speaks by the Gospel, and is, as it were, present, the priest must not wear the symbol of his incarnation, but gives it to a deacon, who holds it in his right hand, and carries it before the sacred gifts.

The

The priest holding three pieces of wax in his hand, indicates, that Christ, one person of the Trinity, was incarnated and wounded for us. Then descending from his chair, he prays aloud for the Emperor ; and, after the Gospel, signing the people with the three pieces of wax, he shews, that upright rule and religion are maintained by the Gospel, and prays that, by the grace of the Trinity, they may continue. When advancing to the Altar, he begins the work of prayer, he testifies that he is the minister of holy things. The Catechumens are then dismissed, and the faithful alone remain ; since this implies the time of consummation : For he says, that, after the Gospel shall be proclaimed through the whole world, then the consummation shall come ; for, in the end, he will send his angels, and separate the just from the unjust. Hence we see how careful the faithful and chief priests ought to be, not to communicate with those with whom there can be no communion. For, if it is unlawful in prayers, it is much more unlawful in the sacrament. When the divine gifts are to be produced, the priest washeth his hands in presence of all. This ceremony indicates that the service is pure and blameless, and that men ought to approach this solemnity unblemished, and celebrate the due rites with the utmost possible purity.

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After

After this, the sacred gifts are carried round with splendid pomp, and attendance of readers and deacons, priests preceding and following with tapers, and holy vessels. This ceremony indicates the last coming of Christ in glory. The pallium, marked with crosses, goes before ; which implies that Christ, and the sign of Christ, will be shown to men from heaven. The deacons, representing angels, follow immediately after. To these succeed ministers, who carry the sacred gifts ; and then all the priests in order. The sacred things are veiled, to indicate that Jesus was dead, and stripped of his apparel. Then having walked round the temple, blessing the people, they return to the altar. Mean time, the people in the church offer supplications for the priest, and meditate on the kingdom of God. For all these rites testify that, at the end of the world, and last appearance of Jesus Christ, heaven shall be the inheritance of the faithful. This solemnity, therefore, sets before our eyes the burial and second coming of Christ.

All the faithful prostrate themselves before the priests, venerating the sacred gifts, or employed in the duty of prayer ; for the sacred gifts were not entirely consecrated ; they were dedicated to God, and are types of his body and blood. But, if the types are to be venerated, the anti-types, according to Basilus Magnus, are objects
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of still higher veneration. Likewise the sacred vessels are to be worshipped, even when they are empty ; for they partake of the sanctity of the bread and wine which they contained. When the sacred gifts are placed on the altar, they are covered, because Christ was not universally known from the beginning, and because, though he assumed a body, his providence and his divinity, though concealed, still remained with him. Moreover, he is infinite, and incomprehensible, and can only be known in so far as he reveals himself to us. The priest, recollecting himself, asks the prayers of all, performing this part of the service with holy fear and trembling, fulfilling the words of the Apostle, that we should confess ourselves, and pray one for another ; for, being mortal, he trusts not in himself. He then crosses the people, who sing the words, ‘ For many years, O Lord,’ praying, that his life and priesthood may continue long. Having then entered the Adytum, the doors are closed, since none but those who are initiated in the priesthood are allowed to witness the mysteries. This is also done to figure the different orders of the angelic body. The first order enjoys the glory of God immediately, the second mediately, and the last by the second. In like manner, the chief priest approaches the holy temple immediately, the other priests mediately by the chief priest,

priest, and by these the people without are admitted into the fellowship of the awful communion of the sacred hymns.

After the first prayer, a sign is made, and we greet one another ; because we are united together by one pure mystery, and because we should love one another, since he so loved us as to offer himself a sacrifice for us ; also, because, in a future state, we shall enjoy perfect harmony and friendship. After this, the sacred gifts are uncovered ; and the priest, standing by the altar, offers thanksgiving for all, and sings the hymn of the angels, viz. Holy, holy, holy. The people also join in the chorus, indicating, that, after this life, we shall be associated in the praise of angels, and dwell with them. Then the chief priest, lauding the deeds of God in the incarnation and death of his only begotten Son, proceeds to the remembrance of the mysteries of wine, pronouncing aloud the words of our Saviour when he sacrificed.

After thanks and oblation are offered for all, he implores divine assistance for himself, and that the grace of the Spirit may descend upon the holy gifts. Thus, by the figure of the cross, and by the invocation of the Spirit, the holy things are consecrated ; and he forthwith beholds Jesus, who is the bread and the wine, placed before him : For Jesus said, ‘ the bread is my body.’

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The sacrifice and propitiation for the whole world being placed before the priest, he prays with confidence, he lauds the Saviour, and supplicates him in the name of all. He makes respectful mention of departed saints; and, above all, of the Virgin Mother of God, testifying, in this manner, that we are the associates of those who have faith, and are chosen. In fine, he incites to magnify God with one mouth and with one spirit; he implores the pity of Jesus, and presents us to the heavenly Father, to be his adopted children. Then praying for peace, and offering thanks, he calls upon Jesus Christ to make him a partaker of holy things, and that all the people may be worthy partakers.

This part of the worship being at an end, he resumes the omophorion: For, when the work of transubstantiation is completed, when the bread is to be lifted up, to be divided, to be participated of, and to be distributed to others, he must wear all the symbols of the chief priest's office of priesthood, of which the omophorion is the chief insignia. He now lifts up the bread, and calling out, 'Holy things to the holy,' he invites them to the consecrated table. To this the people reply, 'To the holy, to the Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father.' This, as St Paul says, will be proclaimed at the last day, when every knee shall be bent, and every

very tongue shall confess, since the Lord Jesus is in the glory of God the Father. Thus they express their general harmony ; and by the words ‘ the Holy *One*,’ they testify their sense of their own humility, and of the perfect sanctity of Christ.

The elevation of the bread manifests the crucifixion ; and the cup contains the blood and water which rushed from the side of Jesus. The bread is divided into the form of a cross ; and the priest, putting the upper part of it into the cup, unites the mysteries. He then pours warm water upon it, indicating, that, though the body of Christ was lifeless, it still preserved a reviving capacity, undivested of its divinity, and the powers of the spirit ; the warm water imparting warmth to the lips of the communicant, affects him, as if he tasted of the vivifying stream that flowed from the side of Jesus. The words of the priest, when he infuses the water into the cup, calling it the ‘ warmth of the holy Spirit,’ confirms the above explanation of the mystery. The chief priest breaking the bread imitates Christ, who broke bread, and gave it to the disciples. He now partakes of the bread, and drinks of the cup ; nor can any other administer them unto him, unless he be a priest of the same rank. He then imparts them to the rest, who kiss his hand and his cheek. His hand, because
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it administers the holy things ; his cheek, because it is the organ of prayer, and because this salutation expresseth affection and fellowship ; for the words with which the ceremony is accompanied are, ‘ Christ is in the midst of us.’ This salute may also denote the blow which our Lord received on the face, and may be intended to remind the priest of the humility with which our Saviour performed the greatest and most divine functions.

Every one partakes of the bread and wine according to their order and proximity to the Bema ; for, in a future life, according to Paul, every order will be regularly adjusted.

After this, the holy gifts are covered, since it is unlawful for all to pry into them. But, if those who are duly prepared for the holy communion approach with religious awe, and receive the bread and wine in a spoon from the hand of the priest, then the priest, praying that the kingdom of God, and the abundance of his people, may be accomplished, scatters incense, and addresseth Christ in the following manner : ‘ Thou
 ‘ didst descend even among us, wast seen among
 ‘ us, and ascendedst into heaven. On thy assumption, the earth was filled with thy glory,
 ‘ by which we minister to thy mysteries ; we
 ‘ partake of thee, and enjoy thee daily.’ The holy things are then placed in the prothesis, the
 deacon

deacon carrying a discus on his head, and the priests carrying the cups in their hands. Mean time, the chief priest having returned thanks, and washed his hands, distributes holy bread to the people.

Now, this is the same bread which the priest hallowed with prayer, and out of which, having cut the middle part, he consecrated it. The middle part was given to the communicants, and the remainder, rendered sacred by holy words pronounced over it, is distributed to the rest of the people. The chief priest having performed this part of the service, and having offered prayers for the people, concludes the mass.

I would willingly have treated the mysteries of holy mass at greater length; but an understanding too limited fully to comprehend them, and the consciousness that others have discussed them in the most ample manner, dissuaded me from the attempt. Even the above explanation is not of my own invention; but is ratified by the authority of pious and learned fathers. I shall, therefore, only subjoin a few things to explain the reason of some rites, which the chief priest performs in the prothesis. We already observed, that he first makes an oblation of bread, and then of the mixture contained in the
cup.

cup. But, besides this, he makes an oblation to God of some separate pieces, partly in honour of the virgin mother of Christ, partly in honour of the saints, and the remainder in behalf of the faithful, who are either dead or alive. Now, it may be asked, What power do these pieces possess? Are they also transformed into the body of Christ? or, Do they confer any signal benefit on those for whom they are offered?

These pieces, according to the fathers, are of great consequence, since they hold the place of those for whom they are presented; and since they are a sacrifice offered to God for those whom they represent. For the priest, when he presents them, saith, ‘O Lord, accept this sacrifice.’ Those offered for the saints tend to increase their glory, and honour, and divine illumination. Those offered for the faithful that are deceased, are designed to procure freedom from all their sins, and union with divine grace. Those offered for the faithful, who are still alive, and who repent of their past offences, conduce to the alleviation of their afflictions, to the forgiveness of their sins, and the hope of eternal life. Now, if this oblation is peculiarly useful to the upright and deserving, it is also peculiarly dangerous to those who are unworthy. The sacrifice thus offered being part of the con-

secrated
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secrated bread, and consequently part of the body of Christ, mingled in the cup ; when it is presented for the righteous, it confers grace on their spirits, and unites them in perceptible communion with God. There is proof, by experience, that even the body derives some benefit from this mystic union. But, if the oblation is made for an impenitent sinner, it is an offering for his perdition. The priest, therefore, ought to be cautious, lest he should present an offering for offenders ; for hence proceed temptations and tribulation ; and hence, says Paul, ‘ Many ‘ are infirm, and feeble, and asleep.’

It is, moreover, necessary, in these awful solemnities, that the priest examine himself, and be upon his guard. For, if he must be watchful over others, he must be much more watchful over himself. If those who eat and drink unworthily, eat and drink damnation to themselves, it becomes those who are invested with the priesthood, and minister in sacred things, to preserve their affections pure, and their temper humble, merciful, and forgiving. For this was the character of him, whom, in the form of bread and wine, they have consecrated. May we, in the present life, be worthy partakers of Christ ; and, in the future, may we enjoy his ineffable and eternal fellowship by the grace and
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good will of the Son of God—to whom, with the Father, who existed from all eternity, and the blessed vivifying Spirit, glory, honour, and adoration are due now and for ever. Amen.

AN



A N
E S S A Y

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CAUSES that have promoted or retarded the Growth of the FINE ARTS.

HISTORIANS have remarked, that the eminent poets, sculptors, painters, orators, and elegant writers, both of antient and modern times, if we admit a very few exceptions, all flourished within the limits of four short periods. The antient Greeks were the first who distinguished themselves by a relish for elegant performances ; and, among them, many strove for the palm of excellence, and obtained it. Their eminent orators, writers, and artists, were, for the most part, contemporaries ; and lived during the period that intervened between the Peloponnesian war and the death of Alexander the Great. Polite literature, and the fine arts, made their second appearance in antient Rome during the age of Augustus. The third period comprehends the latter part of the sixteenth century, during which the arts were encouraged in modern Italy by the family of Medici. The last period

period began in the reign of Louis XIV. The spirit which made its first exertions in France soon extended some measure of its influence over other nations; and, notwithstanding the presages of its approaching departure, which have often been remarked by those who were disposed to prefer the age of their fathers to their own, there is reason to believe that its energy is still felt, and that the limits of its empire are gradually extending to countries formerly rude and unpollished.

‘No person of reflection and taste,’ says Voltaire *, ‘reckons more than these four ages in the history of the world. These four happy ages brought the arts to perfection; they stand for æras in the history of the human understanding, and they are patterns for posterity to imitate.’

It is not to be wondered at, if philosophers have inquired, with uncommon curiosity, into the causes which promoted the fine arts during these periods. In those ages, human nature seemed to have assumed an appearance very different from that in which it had been seen at other times. The Athenians, in the days of Pericles and of Demosthenes, bore little resemblance to those savages who needed the bloody laws of Draco. The Romans, in the reign of Augustus,

* *Siecle de Louis XIV. Introd.*

Augustus, could not have been discerned, by their taste and manners, to be the descendants of the barbarous people that had formerly fought with the Samnites and the Veientes. The tempers, inclinations, and pursuits of men, seemed to have undergone an entire revolution. Posterity felt powers, of which their forefathers had never been conscious, and derived their principal enjoyments from sources that had formerly been unknown. In the mean time, those nations of the world that were unconnected with Greece and Rome, remained in ignorance and barbarity. There was scarce any thing except external figure that could entitle a wild Scythian to be arranged in the same order of beings with a polished Athenian. The mind of the one seemed to differ in every respect from that of the other. The Scythian had no more comprehension of those subjects which employed almost entirely the thoughts of the Athenian, than a man born deaf has of musical sounds. In one country, man was a creature that seemed to be formed for excellence, and that possessed an eminent rank in the scale of beings ; in another, he seemed to surpass his kindred beast of prey in nothing but superior cunning and dexterity, and in his capacity of acting in concert with other animals of his own species.

Both

Both in antient and in modern times, men of speculation have endeavoured to discover the causes which have produced such a remarkable diversity in the powers and the tastes of nations. The accounts of this appearance that have been delivered are very different. Some have ascribed it to the efficiency of natural causes, and others have sought for it in the political circumstances of particular countries. The theory embraced in one age usually solved all the difficulties that had occurred with respect to the matter in preceding times ; but the next revolution in favour of the arts discovered that it was not built upon a solid foundation. Circumstances were omitted in the account, without paying a proper regard to which, no just conclusion could be formed.

The antient Greeks, with Aristotle at their head, forgetting the rudeness of their ancestors, transmitted to them in the most indisputable records, and every day recalled to their memories by many of their antient laws and customs, imagined that Nature had been more liberal of her gifts to themselves than to any other people. They thought that they were born with those superior qualifications which they certainly possessed. They accordingly looked on themselves as of a different order from those nations whom they stiled barbarians ; and, with an insolence, inspired

inspired by this persuasion of natural superiority, believed themselves formed to be masters, and the rest of mankind to be marked out by the Author of nature to be their slaves. The posterity of these Greeks beheld a melancholy reverse. The fathers had left behind them models of excellence ; but the sons were incapable of imitating them. Rome, formerly considered by them as the seat of barbarians, conquered their country, and outshone them in the arts. They were not able to account for this change, consistently with their antient claim to natural superiority. To solve the difficulty that now occurred, they had recourse to moral causes. Liberty, said they, is the only nurse of the fine arts. When Athens ceased to be free, the powers of genius departed from her. Restore her democracy, and the arts will again return to her ; but they can never attain their full growth, and exert themselves with vigour, unless where the government is democratical. This manner of accounting for the appearance is plausible ; but the experience of modern times has shown that it is not strictly just. Free government is undoubtedly favourable to every great and manly exertion ; but other causes may sometimes operate, so as to supply the want of it. After the days of Greek and Roman liberty, the fine arts again rose to eminence ; but not in democratical governments, like that of Athens.

Athens. They have flourished in aristocratical states, and in an absolute monarchy.

After the revival of learning, princes and chieftains, who were themselves void of literature, frequently paid respect to the genius and taste of those who were distinguished by their literary talents. They retained them in their castles and palaces, or gained their friendship by acts of liberality. In the sixteenth century, there was no poet nor grammarian who had not his patron; and, whenever he lost the favour of one, he endeavoured to procure the protection and support of another. There are many instances in the annals of literature, before the influence of Gothic manners had expired, of poets who wandered about from court to court seeking encouragement and patronage. In those times, there was no person that was independent, except great barons, and the members of free corporations. Among the latter of these, a man of literary merit might obtain protection; but his profession could not procure him the means of subsistence; for wealth had not yet diffused itself among the people. His resource, therefore, was to gain admission into the retinue of a powerful Lord, whose vanity he might flatter, or whose exploits he might extol to the skies. To be a dependent upon a powerful baron, in those ages, was not accounted dishonourable.

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Even the brothers and kindred of the chieftain aspired to no superior situation. In process of time, poets, musicians, and painters, such as poets, musicians, and painters then were, became almost necessary appendages of a court; and the prince or baron valued himself upon the reputation acquired by the artists whom they patronised. During the pontificate of Julius II. and of Leo X. this sort of literary patronage had become highly in vogue. Princes vied with each other to obtain possession of an eminent artist, and endeavoured to allure men of distinguished fame, by high encouragements, to take up their residence at their courts. The labours of the artist, who was thus courted and patronised, attracted more and more attention, and were spoken of with applause in foreign states. While men of taste and genius were thus in a dependent situation, during a period when the blessings of independence were neither envied nor known, Italy produced several poets of eminence, and the best painters the world is yet acquainted with.

About the middle of the last century, taste had made considerable progress in France. The great men who surrounded Louis XIV. wanted to render his court as brilliant as possible; and that monarch himself, from the day on which he took into his own hands the reins of govern-

government, discovered a strong attachment to every thing that was splendid and magnificent. An ornament to his reign, of such distinguished lustre as eminence in the fine arts, could not be neglected. A project was formed, and the execution of it was entered into with vigour, to make the age of Louis as remarkable in France for poetry and painting, as the pontificate of Leo X. had been in Italy. The means employed for the purpose, were founded upon the views which were at that time entertained concerning the causes from which excellence in the fine arts proceeds, and which had been naturally enough suggested by recent facts. Those persons who had been accounted the ornament of Italy in the preceding century, had been patronised and pensioned by princes; and their emulation had, at the same time, been incited by the prospect of universal applause. The political reasoners in France having this instance immediately before their eyes, imagined, that, if distinguished artists were again patronized and pensioned; and, if a taste for excellence and design were so universally promoted, that public fame might always attend royal munificence, new Tassos and new Raphaels would be produced in abundance. With this expectation the principal poets and painters who were already in France were publicly encouraged; academies were erected,

rected, both in Paris and in Rome, for training up young Frenchmen in the imitative arts; and the minds of the people were formed to a relish of elegance and magnificence, by numerous displays of excellent productions, collected at an immense expence. No body doubted of the great effects which all these encouragements were to bring about. The Monarch was complimented upon his attention to the fine arts, and upon the honours which his country was to receive in consequence of his munificence, as if every thing had already happened agreeable to the most sanguine expectations. Time at last undeceived the political philosophers. No rivals arose to dispute the palm with those painters and poets who had at first been encouraged to excite the emulation of others. All the patronage of the noblesse, the pensions and academies of Louis the Great, and the hopes of applause from an enlightened people, could raise up no more Corneilles, Racines, and Molières, no more Poussins, Le Sueurs, and Le Bruns.

Philosophers were now convinced, that the moral causes which they had assigned, the favour of princes, and the desire of applause, were insufficient to produce excellence in the fine arts. No other method of accounting for the appearance upon similar principles occurred to them; and hence, they concluded, that, in matters of this nature, moral causes have very little influence.

ence. They began to imagine, that it was the difference of climate, air and diet, which occasioned, for the most part, the diversity of minds, and which stamp the characters of particular ages and nations. This opinion has long been prevalent among the French philosophers. It is agreeable to the principles of materialism, which have long been established among them. It is also convenient in their absolute monarchy, where it is necessary to speak with great reserve upon those moral causes which have any reference to the principles or administration of government. It is, perhaps, likewise flattering to the characteristical vanity of their nation. They are desirous of convincing foreigners that they possess the finest climate in the world. They boast of this advantage as peculiar to themselves; and they wish it to be believed that their minds are framed to nicer perceptions than those of any other people, in consequence of the favourable circumstances in which they have been placed. They proceed upon a prejudice that is very universal; for men in general are more elated on account of the advantages which they have derived from nature, than on account of those acquisitions which are the fruit of their own industry. Montesquieu himself has endeavoured to account for many political appearances from the diversity of climate; and other philosophers of respectable merit have applied the
same

same theory to the progress of the fine arts.
 'The different classes of conceptions,' says Fontenelle, 'are like plants and flowers, which do
 'not grow equally well in every climate. Perhaps the soil of France is as unsuitable to the
 'reasonings of the Egyptians, as to their palm-trees: And, without going to so great a distance, perhaps the orange-trees, which do not
 'grow here so easily as in Italy, indicate, that there is a turn of mind in Italy, to which we
 'have nothing exactly similar in France. It is, at least, certain, that, in consequence of the
 'connection and reciprocal dependence which subsists among all the parts of the material world,
 'the difference of climate, which discovers itself upon plants, must extend to the brain, and produce upon it certain effects.' The Abbé du Bos has carried this view even beyond Fontenelle. 'May we not maintain,' says he, 'that
 'there are countries where men are not born with the faculties necessary for excelling in certain professions, as there are countries where
 'certain plants cannot grow? May we not also maintain, that, as the grain which is sown, and
 'the trees which are in vigour, do not bring their fruits every year to equal perfection, even
 'in the countries that are most adapted to them; in the same manner, the children brought up
 'under the most happy climates do not become,
 ' at

' at all periods, equally perfect men? May not
 ' one year be more favourable than another to
 ' the physical education of children, as some years
 ' are more favourable than others to the vege-
 ' tation of plants? Two seeds produced by the
 ' same plant, bring forth fruits of different qua-
 ' lities, when sown in different soils, or even in
 ' the same soil in different years. In the same
 ' way, two children, born with brains construc-
 ' ted exactly in the same manner, will become
 ' men of very different understandings and dis-
 ' positions, if the one be brought up in Sweden
 ' and the other in Andalusia. They will become
 ' different, though brought up in the same coun-
 ' try, if it be in years in both of which the tempe-
 ' rature of the air is not the same.' To establish
 this favourite opinion, the elegant writer produ-
 ces a great number of analogical reasonings, and
 a variety of facts which, though they are by no
 means sufficient to prove the truth of his con-
 clusion, abundantly shew, that there is an inti-
 mate connection between the body and the
 mind.

It is evident, upon a very slight reflection, that
 the theory of physical causes, applied to moral
 and political appearances, is mere hypothesis, in-
 capable either of proof or of refutation. In or-
 der fully to confirm it, there would be occasion
 to ascertain the state of the air, and the nature
 of

of the diet, which are requisite in producing genius for the fine arts ; and to shew, that those who have arisen to eminence have enjoyed these external advantages. Such a proof ought to consist of numerous observations and experiments, conducted with unquestionable accuracy, in order to carry complete conviction. It is hardly to be believed, that such a degree of evidence ever will be brought. The investigation would be too tedious, and would depend upon too many minute circumstances, to be accomplished by human accuracy and abilities. Till a clear proof from facts and experiments, however, be brought, the opinion should be regarded merely as a conjecture, and ought not to be admitted as a fair conclusion. At the same time, this theory does not seem capable of a direct refutation. It does not seem possible to shew all the effects of external circumstances upon the body, nor all the influences of the body upon mind. They may be greater or less than we are disposed to imagine them, for the subject is clearly beyond the reach of our investigation. The Abbé du Bos may be right in his conjecture, that genius has sometimes appeared beyond the degree of latitude that should naturally have limited it ; because the active spirit of southern climates is transported with their productions, and is transfused into the frozen sons of the north,

north, with the wines, the spices, the coffee, the tea, and the tobacco which are brought from happier regions ; but, it is to be feared, that it will be long before physical knowledge be so far improved as to verify this conjecture. If we want to rest our conclusions upon facts, we must look out for very different causes, or acknowledge, that we are entirely ignorant of the matter.

When we consider the several causes that have been assigned, and the various suppositions that have been contrived to account for the progress of the fine arts, we might be apt to imagine, that there must be something remarkably difficult in the inquiry. But philosophers have often sought for strange and uncommon causes to account for the most simple events, and have perplexed themselves with matters that were manifest to the vulgar. They have sometimes had recourse to the stars to explain the ordinary occurrences of human life, which plainly proceed from the exertions of human power. The growth and progress of the fine arts seem to have been occasioned by causes exactly similar to those which have promoted the mechanical arts. Provide a good market, and you will find little difficulty in obtaining manufacturers who will furnish it with commodities. If there are not already in the neighbourhood a sufficient

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number of labourers and tradesmen to supply the demand, the deficiency will soon be supplied without any trouble to the community. This principle in police has been known, and depended upon at all times, with respect to the necessities and ordinary conveniences of life ; but men who had formed high conceptions of poetry, painting, and eloquence, and who had themselves made progress in some one or other of these professions, were unwilling to believe that it was applicable to the fine arts. They persuaded themselves, that those elegant accomplishments which embellished human life, and afforded a most refined pleasure to delicate and cultivated minds, must have sprung from some more noble origin, than the mean occupation which furnished food to a mechanic. They were desirous of discovering a cause, in some measure, proportioned to the dignity of the effect which they beheld. They thought it derogatory to those productions which fill the soul of man with enthusiasm, to imagine it possible that Demosthenes pled, and Raphael painted, and Corneille composed tragedies, from the vulgar motive that renders the meanest artisan industrious. They were disposed to believe, that those great accomplishments from which they derived the most lasting and rational pleasures, must have proceeded immediately from a heavenly origin. Great artists, and men of superior genius, deserve every sort of recompense,

penſe, and ought to be amply provided with the means of ſubſiſtence ; but who can believe that they exert themſelves from views of intereſt ? Can any thing noble flow from ſuch a polluted ſource ?

The reflection may be mortifying to human vanity ; but it will be found at laſt, that the nobleſt and the meaneſt arts have been proſecuted, and have ariſen to their higheſt perfection, from the ſame cauſes. The productions of both, not only in their quantity, but alſo in their excellence, have born a proportion to the demand there was for them in the market in which they were to be diſpoſed of. A regard to intereſt has always been found to be the ſtrongeſt incentive to vigorous exertions among all ranks of men. Every man is not fit to become an orator, nor a painter, nor a poet ; but neither is every man fit to become a watch-maker, a blackſmith, or a porter. In every age and country, however, there are men lying in obſcurity, whom encouragement might have called forth, and raiſed to eminence in the fine arts. Men, it is to be preſumed are originally upon a level every where, whatever different appearances the nature of their circumſtances may afterwards force them to aſſume. If we attend to the progreſs of the fine arts in the ſeveral ages during which they have been cultivated with remarkable ſucceſs,

cess, we may easily be satisfied, that these remarks are well founded.

The period of the fine arts in Greece began immediately after the conclusion of the Persian war. The Athenians were a commercial people, and, at times, employed a great number of ships, which traded to the coast of Asia, and the islands of the Egean Sea. Manufactures were carried on at home to a considerable extent, with a view to supply the demands of foreign commerce. The consequence was, that, in process of time, the citizens of Athens became rich and luxurious. Besides, after the Kings of Persia had given up their expectations of conquering Greece, they kept up a correspondence with the leading men in its principal states. Themistocles, after conquering the Persian monarch, was pensioned by his son Artaxerxes. The states in Lesser Asia which belonged to the Great King, lying far from Babylon, the seat of government, were always struggling to throw off the yoke, and were also subject to revolutions, from the jealousy of viceroys and tributary princes. The Persian sovereigns often found it necessary to over-awe them with an army of disciplined Greeks. When the governours of provinces made war upon one another, they likewise found it necessary to hire Athenian and Lacedemonian soldiers. After the contest was over,

ver, peace could seldom be established, till all matters had been settled to the satisfaction of the Greek armies that had been employed, and of the states to which they belonged. It appears that great sums of Persian gold were distributed among the leading men of Athens, to procure their interest among the people, in favour of the measures that were serviceable to Asia. Greece, and especially Athens, having become rich by commerce, and by political negotiation, the arts of luxury were introduced, to satiate the artificial wants that were created among the opulent. The people vied with one another in splendour and magnificence. Pictures and statues became necessary articles in the furniture of their apartments. Their houses were embellished with beautiful columns, and the other ornaments of architecture. A great number of artists became necessary to supply the increasing demands of luxury. The painters and statuaries raised their prices in proportion to the value that was set upon their works. Views of interest produced emulation among them; and every artist made vigorous exertions, from the expectation of excelling his competitors. Every subject in antient mythology was cut in marble, or expressed in colours; and so great was the demand for such performances, that we are told it was more easy to find a god than a man at Athens. How many

ny artists must have been employed to furnish such immense numbers of pictures and statues during the short period of Athenian greatness? The temples of their Gods, which were numerous, and which were built and adorned in the most sumptuous manner, must of themselves have employed many principal architects and statuaries. The public games of Greece likewise produced a market for works of taste, that ought not to be overlooked. The victors were generally men of great opulence; and their vanity led them to disregard expence, in order to have their exploits properly recorded. They employed, for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of their victories, the principal statuaries, painters, and poets of their age. It is well known, that Pindar, in his time, had the highest character for panegyric, and that he sold his songs of praise at a most exorbitant rate. At these games, as well as at other times, the theatre was frequented by the Greeks. The tragic and comic poets who furnished new dramatical entertainments were honoured and rewarded. Encouragement excited emulation, and produced the celebrated dramatic performances of that period. It was during the same age that the Grecian eloquence attained the highest degree of perfection. The prize which an Athenian orator had before his eyes, was the most honourable
that

that ambition could aspire to. Eloquence was the direct road to power and influence. The administration of that popular government was in the hands of him who could turn the minds of the people; and bend them to his own purposes. In this manner did all the fine arts spring up in proportion to the demand there was for them. The encouragement was great; artists arose in numbers, and, from views of interest, endeavoured to excel; and, among a multitude of competitors, several arrived at great eminence.

This period of the fine arts lasted as long as the causes which had given occasion to it continued to operate. But, after Greece had been subdued by the arms of Rome, it was plundered by the conquerors, and governed as a vanquished province by rapacious proconsuls and praetors. The riches and luxury of its inhabitants were at an end. Their eloquence declined, when it ceased to be the means of procuring influence. There arose no more eminent artists, after there was no longer a market for works of taste. The Romans, however, only completed what the ambition of the Macedonian princes had begun.

The fine arts made little progress in Rome till the time of their civil wars. It was not till after they had conquered Greece and Asia that they had sufficient wealth to render them a luxurious

rious people, or even to give them a taste for elegance. The nations whom they had formerly conquered were all poor, except the Carthaginians; and even the victories which they obtained over that rising people could hardly indemnify them for the severe losses which they had sustained during their tedious struggle for superiority. But, when the opulent countries of Greece and Asia were subdued and plundered, wealth flowed upon Rome in the most copious streams. Those men who had been active in the field, and were enriched with the spoils, rivalled one another in splendour at home. Wealth was soon diffused among many members of the republic. Every one endeavoured to acquire a large quantity of those things which were most valued in the polished countries that had been conquered. The statues, pictures, and carved vessels of Greece and Sicily, were sold at Rome; and their price increased in proportion to the demand which was occasioned by an additional influx of wealth from other pillaged provinces. All was insufficient to answer the growing demand for works of this nature. New artists arose in consequence of the encouragement by which they were invited. The eminent Romans employed them in copying Greek models, as well as in painting and carving new designs, and in adorning houses and villas in which they could display their magnificence.

Poetry

Poetry easily found encouragement among nobles greedy of praise, and among a luxurious people fond of theatrical spectacles. Eloquence flourished while it conducted to greatness, by enabling the orator to direct the public deliberations of his countrymen.

But this reign of the fine arts, as well as the former, was short. Good poetry continued while there were men of taste who were capable of relishing delicate praise, which was for no long period. But eloquence declined when it could be of no important service to him who possessed it, and when it could not be exerted upon any great occasion, which became the case when the empire began to be governed by the absolute power of a single man. Other causes brought about the downfall of painting and statuary. During the time of the Emperors, there were no new conquests like those of Greece and Asia. The right of citizenship belonged equally to every province. There were no means left by which great wealth could be acquired, as the Romans were unacquainted with commerce. Even the wealth that was among them was rendered unsecure by the violent nature of the government. Rapine and assassination were frequently the lot of the opulent. Listless and despondent, the wealthy addicted themselves to sensual gratifications, which they were capable of enjoying with-

out acquiring any popularity, or creating any suspicion in the Emperor. While such was the state of affairs, little encouragement could be given to artists. There was another cause that operated along with this one. A prodigious quantity of Greek statues and pictures had already been brought into Italy. These, in consequence of evident affociations, were more valued than Roman performances of equal merit. Nero, instead of employing Roman artists to make statues for his new buildings, plundered Greece and Asia anew, and took away even household-gods. The demand in Rome for works of taste was much less than it had been in the days of liberty ; and the productions already in the market were nearly sufficient to answer it. Scarce any thing was wanted but copies of the works that had most reputation ; and these were made by slaves, who can never have the same inducements to great exertions with freemen. Architecture survived, for a long time, the downfall of the other arts. The Emperors, and their favourites, took much pleasure in building magnificent edifices. The palaces and baths of Dioclesian appear, from their ruins, to have been noble structures.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the states of Italy had emerged from the barbarity in which, like the rest of Europe, they had long been
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been sunk. The Gothic tyranny, which had long depressed mankind, had, in some measure, lost its force. Good police was established over the country, and a free communication was opened among the several territories. At that time, all the most valuable branches of commerce in Europe were carried on by Italians. They trafficked with the kingdoms of Asia, and brought over the productions of India before its coasts had been explored. Wealth, of consequence, was amassed by many individuals in Italy. The vast sums brought into that country by ecclesiastics from every corner of Christendom, united with commerce to diffuse opulence every where. Luxury was the natural consequence of plenty; and an example of it was set by two succeeding pontiffs. A demand arose as formerly in antient Greece for the productions of the ornamental arts. Antient statues began to be dug up; but the quantity of them that was discovered served only to inflame the desires of the opulent, without satisfying them. Those that were found, served, however, an important purpose. They became models of excellence for the new artists whom public encouragement called forth to imitate. The fine arts were not patronized by individuals alone. The principal ecclesiastics had imbibed the taste of their countrymen, and had resolved to procure the richest ornaments

ornaments for places of worship. They refitted old churches, or built new ones, at great expence; and employed the ablest sculptors and painters to adorn them with all that their arts could furnish. This period produced the most eminent artists. But the demand was only temporary. The commerce of Italy sunk, in consequence of the improvements in navigation made by other nations. The ecclesiastical revenue was diminished by the reformation in religion, and part of it was necessarily consumed in political negociations. The churches were soon stocked with pictures, which were to remain, with little augmentation, for ages. If pictures were still wanted, the demand was more frequently for copies than for originals. When the market was shut, the artists disappeared. Academies were erected to preserve alive the spirit of the arts; but they produced little effect. The pupils copied coldly after the best models; and, having no sufficient motive to make them exert themselves with vigour, executed no originals of eminent merit.

It was about this period too, that music began to be cultivated in the low countries and in Italy. The same love of pomp and magnificence that induced the dignified ecclesiastics to decorate their churches, made them also pay attention to the music performed during the service.

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They gave great encouragement to performers ; and the lasting nature of the office in which they employed them, afforded them security, that the same encouragement would continue. Different churches rivalled one another in the excellence of their music, and the people acquired a taste for it. Hence, to this day, the catholic countries have, in general, carried this art to greater perfection than the protestant.

In the subsequent century, the nobility of France were brought from their antient castles, and were accustomed to a free communication with one another. They resorted to court, and acquired a taste for shew and splendour. They spent their revenues, not as they had formerly done, upon a numerous train of retainers, but upon those things which afforded amusement, or served for ornament. The coat of mail was taken down from their halls, and a picture supplied its room. Instead of tilts and tournaments, they sought after the entertainments of the theatre. A market was opened, where many were disposed to purchase ; but the commodities exposed to sale were of small value. Eminent painters and dramatic writers immediately arose, and supplied the demand with productions far superior to any that had formerly appeared, which were bought from them at a correspondent price. The young monarch encouraged the

the prevailing taste. He and his ministers countenanced every man who had any pretensions to the fine arts. But the countenance of the Sovereign could not preserve painting in its glory, after the demand for its most finished labours was over. Poetry, on the contrary, found encouragements different from the temporary favour of the great. It came to a more crowded market than its sister art, and therefore continued in splendour.

Britain cannot much boast of its artists. It was struggling for liberty at the period when its neighbouring nation was amusing itself with elegance and magnificence. It has been inhabited by an active and industrious, rather than a luxurious people. To this day, the opulent, who are fond of shew, spend their fortunes upon political schemes, and have little reserved to bestow upon the productions of the fine arts. There never has been such a demand among them for good statues and pictures, as to be a sufficient encouragement to eminence. Few good artists have been induced to settle among them. They have, however, brought over to this country many capital performances of foreign masters. They have formed a judgment of excellence in design and composition, by means of the best prints. Tho^o they have had few original painters, they have
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had many who copied well, and they have encouraged many distinguished engravers.

Perhaps it may not be possible, for a long time, to raise a school of eminent painters in Britain ; for it does not seem probable that there will soon be a sufficient demand for their productions. Pictures, considered in the light of ornament, are hardly consistent with the glaring degree of light, which custom requires in elegant apartments, and which greatly contributes to cheerfulness in our northern region. Not only the forms of our religion, but the state of church-patrimony, prevent pictures from ornamenting our places of worship in the same manner as they do in Italy. The few who choose to have galleries of pictures, wish to be possessed of performances which have already acquired reputation, and they purchase them at immense prices. Pictures and statues are not commodities of which the fashion soon alters. The stock of them which have been provided still remains ; and, till it wear out, the demand can hardly be so great as to encourage vigorous exertions. Besides, a painter, at present, who could paint as well as Raphael, would not, for a long time, obtain the reputation of Raphael. There is a reverence that naturally impresses us, when we reflect upon men of established reputation, and makes us heighten in our imagination
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the merit of their works. In the last place, the first performance of any kind is always preferred to any future one, unless its inferiority be very remarkable. A painter, who follows the stile and manner of an eminent artist, is considered in no higher light than an imitator, though he produce better performances than he whose stile he follows. We do not allow him the merit of invention. The man that would obtain high reputation, must move in a path that has not been trodden before. The academy of arts is a noble seminary, worthy of the royal munificence by which it was founded; but, if we may judge of it by other institutions of the same nature, we may foretell, that it will be long before it produce any thing far above mediocrity in painting; though it must, without doubt, educate excellent engravers, and train up designers that will be exceedingly beneficial to manufactures and the mechanic arts.

Though Britain has produced few artists of note, it has given birth to many excellent poets. Poetry has been the growth of every time and country. Its excellence is estimated comparatively. Sternhold was deemed a rare poet by his generation, as well as Dryden in his age. In every country, poetry adapts itself to the taste of the people. In Britain, it has risen to high perfection; even though we estimate its merit
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among us, by a comparison with the best productions of the same sort among the most polished nations. It has not attained its excellence in consequence of royal patronage and munificence. It has been addressed to the public, and from the public it has received its reward. They who have excelled in the elegant arts among us, have not been the humble retainers of a court. They have lived in a state of independence, requited for their labours like the merchant or the artizan, by those who set a real value upon their works. Abilities and taste never stood upon so honourable a footing ; and, thus supported, it is to be hoped, that, without any other encouragement, they may long

‘ live and thrive,

‘ Indebted to no prince nor peer alive.’

F I N I S.



